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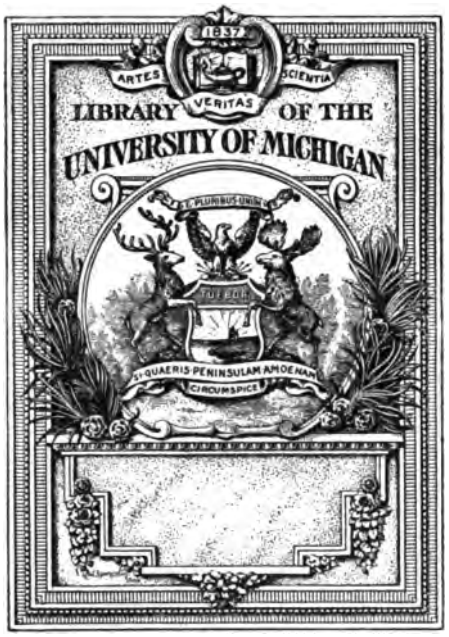
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# VARIATIONS IN FRENCH PRONUNCIATIONS.

— BY —

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## *VARIATIONS IN FRENCH PRONUNCIATIONS.**

***Results of a pedagogical experiment made by comparing the examples given in Matzke's*** PRIMER OF FRENCH PRONUNCIATION ***with their equivalents in the Michaelis-Passy*** DICTIONNAIRE PHONÉTIQUE DE LA LANGUE FRANÇAISE.

"THE pronunciation of French," says Professor Matzke, "is confessedly the most difficult subject which the student meets in undertaking the study of the language." It has also been my experience that it is one of the most difficult subjects that the student meets during his entire study of the language. The importance of the subject, whether for reading, particularly poetry, for understanding the spoken language or for speaking it, must appeal to any teacher earnestly desirous of imparting to his students the essence of the original. The contribution of Professor Matzke, dealing directly with this phase of the subject, is in its way the most serious attempt to call attention especially to this trying feature, although it has been dealt with as scientifically and completely in Professor Grandgent's *Short French Grammar* and in Professor Bevier's *French Grammar*, as the limits of these treatises permit. Such works in this country and such a work as that of Rossmann und Schmidt, *Lehrbuch der französischen Sprache*,[1] show what the feeling is in regard to the importance of the matter at home and abroad, and are attempts to place the study of language on a more satisfactory scientific basis.

In what measure the study of language sounds can be combined with the study of the language itself, is a question of how far theory and practice can be combined; so many factors enter, that no single statement can answer for all cases; the knowledge, ability, and interest of the teacher in such work are most vital factors, not to mention others. In my own case, I have little confidence that I could use Professor Matzke's *Primer* effectively with a class of beginners, and in such matters each teacher must, I believe, be his own judge of how satisfactorily he can deal with a subject. My own experience leads me to believe that the simplest, as well as the most natural method for the beginner is merely as close imitation of the teacher as possible. One thing at a time, and first a practical familiarity with the sounds obtained by hearing them,—after which the study of sound symbols, tongue positions, etc., may contribute whatever it can. If a teacher can teach both effectively at once, he may prefer to do so. While it is not my belief that phonetics and language should be separated, yet, on the other hand, I doubt whether at all stages they should always be taught together. While I have tried to teach more or less of the science of language and pronunciation both in the college and in the graduate school, the results have been so different, and so much in favor of emphasizing this feature in the latter rather than in the former, that I am inclined to believe the graduate school the proper place for the systematic treatment of the sounds as distinguished from the study in general of the entire subject. Thus it is that I have there, with a class keenly interested in the subject, taken up Professor Matzke's *Primer*. We have gone through it, scrutinizing everything carefully, with a view of getting all possible knowledge in regard to the pronunciation of the examples there recorded. Notwithstanding the fact that much of such work has necessarily been in the nature of a book review, I desire to state that the task has not been taken up in a captious or fault-finding spirit. Indeed, my hearty appreciation of Professor Matzke's good work has already been publicly expressed in an article in the *Maître Phonétique*.[2]

The number of variations met with in studying the examples suggested the idea of going over them all and stating the results in tabular form. In doing this we have had the advantage of some works not to be had when the *Primer* appeared, notably the Michaelis-Passy dictionary, portions of the Hatzfeld-Darmesteter dictionary, and the Passy-Rambeau chrestomathy. The titles of quite a number of other works consulted were given together with comments, more or less extended, in footnotes referring to the examples as they occur in the *Primer*. Such a study, of course, Professor Matzke did not contemplate, certainly with students of the elements; and did I not believe that such a study must be directly useful to teachers of

1 Leipzig, 1896.

2 Sept.-Oct., 1897.

* Deprinted from MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xiv, Nos. 2, 3, 1899.

French and post-graduates rather than to under-graduates, the comparisons would have no *raison d'être*.

As is well-known to those interested in the scientific study of the French language, the latest and most important contribution to the science of French pronunciation is the Michaelis-Passy *Dictionnaire Phonétique*.[3] The time spent in its preparation by scholars so competent for their task must naturally rank this work as an authority, which, unless the promise that is reasonably to be expected fails, and that is unlikely, must be quite as weighty as any that exists on French pronunciation. Accordingly, while in our examination all available authorities have been consulted, the M.-P. dictionary has throughout been made the basis of the comparison. The results compared with those obtained here by other classes in this field have proven by far the most profitable and the most interesting, which is one reason, in the first place, why I desire to make them known. Secondly, if this article can contribute anything toward directing attention to these two important contributions to the study of French pronunciation, Prof. Matzke's *Primer* and the excellent M.-P. dictionary, so that they may possibly be used in our colleges and graduate schools in some such way, for example, as that set forth here, it will not have been written in vain.

Professor Matzke's sound symbols differ somewhat from those used by the *Association Phonétique Internationale* with which the comparison is here instituted. Although they answer the purpose, I do not believe they answer as well as do the symbols of the *Association*, and, to my mind, it is to be regretted that scholars cannot unite upon one system, the advantages of which, as I have already pointed out in the article, above referred to in the *Maître Phonétique*, must be obvious to all interested.

Taking up first the "Explanatory Table of Phonetic Symbols,"[4] the symbols representing the vowel sounds are given with the key-words, while just below, for covenience of comparison, I have merely given the symbol used to represent the above sound by Michaelis-Passy, without their key-words, which are not essential.

3 Hannover, 1897.

4 P. vi.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a (passe); | ɑ (page); | ɛ (tête); |
| *a*; | a; | *ɛ*; |
| o (rose); | u (rouge); | œ (heure); |
| *o*; | *u*; | *œ*; |
| ã (chambre); | ɛ̃ (pain); | ɔ̃ (bon); |
| *ã*; | *ɛ̃*; | *ɔ̃*; |
| e (épée); | i (dire); | ə comme; |
| *e*; | *i*; | *ə*; |
| œ (feu); | ü (mur); | |
| *ø*; | *y*; | |
| œ̃ (un); | e (le); | |
| *œ̃*; | *ə*; | |

: sign of length.

: sign of length.[5]

As may be seen, with the exception of *i*=Fr. *i*, and *u*=Fr. *ou*, the signs for nasality and for length, each symbol differs from its correspondent in the other system more or less.

The symbols representing the consonants in each system are more nearly alike: *b*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v* and *z* being alike in both systems and representing, respectively, the corresponding French consonants. *x* is given as a symbol=*ks*. As it is not used in the *Primer* as a symbol at all, and as both *k* and *s* are used as symbols, why it should appear here is not clear. In regard to *h*, Professor Matzke says: "*h* whether it stands at the beginning or in the middle of the word, is never pronounced in French."[6] Consequently its non-appearance in the *Primer* is phonetically exact. Of course if there be a slight aspiration audible, then it should surely be recorded by some symbol denoting aspiration. In such forms as Fr. *hache* and *je hais*, it can undoubtedly be heard in the pronunciation of many French people. Michaelis-Passy, who use the symbol *h*, say: "*h* indique que la liaison et l'élision ne se font pas, et qu'on peut aspirer."[7] This to my mind is more satisfactory, because one has a safe guide in the perplexing cases of elision and linking, even though the *h* is absolutely silent.

The symbols which differ from each other in the two systems, but which represent the same consonantal French sounds are:

5 Used, as on p. 46, note 3, to indicate *consonantal* lengthening, although almost invariably throughout the *Primer* vocalic length is meant.

6 P. 40.

7 P. 120.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *š*=(sh in E. sham); | *ž*=(s in leisure and z in azure); | *ñ*=(ni in union); |
| *ʃ* . . (*ch*at, ha*ch*e); | *ʒ* . . (*J*ean, rou*g*e); | *h* . . . (re*gn*er, pei*gn*e); |
| *i̯* (semi-consonantal i) | *u̯* (semi-consonantal u) | *ü̯* (semi-consonantal ü); |
| *j* . . . (*y*eux, b*i*en); | *w* . . (*oui*, p*o*ele); | *ɥ* (*hu*ile, n*u*age). |

*i̯ u̯* and *ü̯*=semi-consonantal *i*, *u* and *ü* have a reference,[8] where by means of examples these symbols are explained. The corresponding M.-P. symbols *j*, *w* and *ɥ*, *with their keywords*, if not so readily transparent as some of the other symbols of the *Association Phonétique*, nevertheless convey at once a rather more intelligent idea of their values than do Professor Matzke's *i̯*, *u̯* and *ü̯*, *without looking up the reference*.

The sign ~ is used in the *Primer* to denote vowel nasality; that is, to show that a sound not nasal is made so by the air partly deflected through the nose. This same symbol, however, is placed over the character representing French *gn*, which sound is already in itself nasal. Inasmuch as lip nasal *m* and point nasal *n* are distinguished by different symbols, why palatal Fr. *gn* sound should not be is not clear; and that point nasal *n* should do service as a palatal nasal by putting the tilde (~) over it is using the sign to indicate position, a function different from that originally assigned to it.

The first criticism in particular which my class made, was in regard to the symbols a (p*a*sse) and *α* (p*a*ge). Professor Matzke has chosen the common symbol a to represent the less common variety of Fr. *a*, that is, Fr. back *a* in *passe;* and he has chosen the comparatively rare symbol Greek alpha (*α*) to represent the more common variety of Fr. *a* in p*a*ge. It would be more natural and more logical that the common symbol a should represent the very frequently occurring sound, front *a* as in p*a*ge, while the comparatively rare symbol Greek alpha (*α*) should represent the less frequently occurring back *a* in p*a*sse, about as in the Michaelis-Passy, or exactly if *α* of the *Primer* can be considered as Passy's *a*. I quite agree with the class. It must be remembered in this comparison, then, that when in any given word, which is transcribed in each system, the symbols for the Fr. *a* sound are alike, that is, either a and a or *α* and *α*, the sounds in each word in the two systems are *different;* and when the symbols for the Fr. *a* are *different*, that is, a and *a* or *α* and a, the sounds in the two systems are *alike*. Thus in the *Primer*,[9] we have *vu̯a:r*=voir, M.-P. *vwa:r; tɛritu̯a:r*=territoire, M.-P. *teritwa:r; nu̯a:r*=noir, M.-P. *nwa:r;* in each of which three cases the a in question in the *Primer* is of the less common variety or Fr. back *a*, while in the M.-P. pronunciation, it is of the commoner variety, or strictly speaking, phonetically *front a* in distinction to the former sound *back a*. On the same page we have *ruα* (*ru̯α* should have been printed),=roi, M.-P. *rwa*, where again the vowel sound in the two systems is different; but in the form for moi=*mu̯α*, M.-P. *mwa*, the vowel sounds in each case are identical. In addition to the criticism made by the class in regard to the use of the Greek *α*, another has since been made to me by a Professor of Romance Languages at a neighboring university who kindly looked over some of our work, to the effect that there is something to be said in favor of the æsthetic side of typography and that the needless introduction of the Greek *α* mars an otherwise pretty text.

Another symbol which the class criticised, and rightly too, I believe, was the one for the so-called *e* mute, or the *e* which is not mute (*ɛ*). It is a less effective symbol than the M.-P. inverted *ə*, because it is so easily confused with *ɛ*, the symbol for the open sound in Fr. tête.

Coming now to page 1, the alphabet, the letters are given and their names thus: *a* (a); *b* (bé), *c* (cé), *d* (dé), *e* (é), *f* (effe), *g* (gé), *h* (ache), etc., just as in the past they have been given in most grammars. It seems to me, however, that as it is now customary to name the letters by their sounds in the word that is spelled, the consonants being pronounced with the so-called *e* mute following, it is eminently appropriate to mention that fact in a treatise on pronunciation. It would appear, too, if one may venture in this connection a criticism on the M.-P. dictionary, that the letters of the alphabet be treated as words might have been,

8 Cf. § 42.

9 P. 28.

as in the H.-D. dictionary, where both the old and the new pronunciation of the letters are indicated; but M.-P. do not give sound equivalents for them in the body of the dictionary, and one's information on that point is only to be had on page 319, where over the table appears: "Chaque lettre doit se prononcer comme la lettre italique du mot mis en regard."

We now come to the examples themselves; but in giving a brief analysis of our work, a few observations of a critical nature upon some of the subjects treated in the *Primer* are necessary. Indeed, anyone of these topics offers in itself material to the Romance student for an attractive seminary paper, and the object here is not so much to criticise Prof. Matzke's work, as to bring out pedagogically how useful his *Primer* may be made with advanced students,—for whom, it will be remembered, he did not intend it.

1. Syllabication. With certain combinations of consonants, there is a difference of usage which is troublesome if entirely unnoticed. For example, three of the words given as illustrations in the *Primer*[10] are pa-steur=*pɑ-stœ:r;* e-sca-lier = *ę-skɑ-lią̃ę;* at-mo-sphè-re = *ɑt-mɔ-sfę:r.* Littré gives the same, except that he carries the principle of beginning each syllable with a consonant so far as to write a-tmo-sfèr'. H.-D., on the other hand, indicates the following syllabification: pàs-teur; *ès-kà-lyé; àt-mòs-fèr.* This latter division is more in accordance with the principle generally observed of open *e* and *o* in closed syllables, and closed *e* and *o* in open syllables, which Prof. Matzke seems to be carrying out in *rester* and *espérer*, § 16, notwithstanding his rule under 4, p. 2.

2. The so-called *e* mute. This is explained under § 14, p. 10; but the examples of usage in the passage on p. 63 certainly in many cases differ radically from recognized conventional usage. Thus, p. 69, line 15, appears *ż dęvę*= je devais; p. 65, line 18, *ün ptitɑfę:r*=une petite affaire, and on p. 67, line 3, *ɑ̃ę̃ ptitfilę* (the *t* final in *ptit* is, of course, a slip)=un petit filet, *dün šminę*=d'une cheminée (same line). It must be obvious, from these examples, that the principle which rules ordinary practice in such cases is ignored.

3. Diphthongs.[11] Inasmuch as H.-D. says that ". . . aujourd'hui notre langue ne connaît plus de diphthongues,"[12] and the leading authorities look upon the subject in this way, the use of the term *diphthong* is unfortunate.[13] The note on page 29: "There is another *-ien* which is bisyllabic, and which is pronounced *ią̃* or *ią̃*," is very puzzling and seems to imply that the "diphthongs" previously discussed are not bisyllabic and, therefore, differ from the examples given in this note in that respect. Of the six examples there given but two are recorded phonetically as bisyllabic: client= *klią̃* and science=*sią̃:s* (M.-P. writes *sją̃:s*). If the combination *-ien* is bisyllabic, how can it be pronounced *ią̃?* This at once opens up the difficult subject of bisyllabic and consonantal pronunciation.[14]

4. "Double consonants are pronounced like single consonants."[15] This disposes in a practical way of a most perplexing feature. The treatment seems like that of Passy in *Les Sons*,[16] where he states: ". . . mais il faut se rappeler qu'il n'y a pas en réalité deux consonnes." To indicate, however, a difference between the sound of the single letter and that of it doubled, the M.-P. dictionary uses the consonant doubled, while to denote the same sound Professor Matzke uses merely the single consonant, excepting occasionally, and in note 3 of page 46 where: indicates consonantal lengthening. Usage here seems hardly fixed, for Cauvet says[17] . . . "on doit faire entendre ces deux consonnes . . . . . dans les mots qui commencent par *ill, imm, inn, irr, syll.*" This usage, too, is supported by other authorities.[18] The disadvantage of writing phonetically but one consonant in such cases is the likelihood of a slovenly pronunciation, such as appears to me that indicated on the nineteenth line of page 65: là-dedans=*lɑd:ɑ̃*, and which Passy in the *Sons*[19] writes *laddɑ̃*.

5. Consonants. These are divided into consonants similar to English and consonants different from English.[20] It is precisely here and because of the similarity of the consonants in the two languages that the proper effect is just missed, because the dissimilarity is not under-

10 P. 2. 11 P. 27.

12 P. xxvii.

13 In modern text-books like Grandgent's *Short French Grammar*, the word "diphthong" appears to be carefully avoided.

14 Cf. Beyer, *Phonetik*, § 43; Lesaint, pp. 119–127.

15 P. 34. 16 § 126. 17 P. 70. 18 Cf. H.-D.

19 P. 69, line 3. 20 Pp. 33–49.

stood. The subject has the cardinal importance that the French vowels have, which subject, by the way, Prof. Matzke makes clearer than its counterpart the consonants, but not until the subject of quantity is reached.[21] The essential difference between the French and English stops may possibly be divined from the table on page 33, but that the French are less explosive than the English is not brought out with the effectiveness which the importance of the matter warrants.

In regard to the Fr. uvula *r* and point *r*, Prof. Matzke says: "both are equally correct."[22] Prof. Grandgent says: "Students should select one of these, and practice it constantly until they can produce it without difficulty."[23] My experience with professional teachers, actors, and speakers, leads me to believe that it will be hard to find any who recommend the uvula *r* to their students;[24] but, of course, this is debatable.

6. Double forms. Except in the Illustrative Sentences Prof. Matzke rarely gives double forms, doubtless for the sake of simplicity. He does note double forms for Fr. *aurai*, *aurais*, *gens*, *heureux*, *plus*, *sens*, *tous* and *trop*. My class, to be sure not beginners, repeatedly represented to me that, for examples, either words which had but one well-established pronunciation should be offered, or otherwise all the facts in regard to the pronunciation of the example should be given. Throughout the *Primer* there are scores of words that have more than one pronunciation. I take from the lists some well-known cases to illustrate: *orgueilleux*,[25] *taureau*,[26] *spécimen*,[27] *examen*,[28] *automne*,[29] *juin*,[30] *Anvers*,[31] *poing*,[32] *Guizot*,[33] *cuiller*,[34] *Montaigne*,[35] *mauvaise*.[36]

7. Rare, antiquated or obsolete words used as examples. Such words, occurring occasionally as examples in the *Primer*, appear out of place. For instance, the pronunciation indicated for sanctuaire[37] is *sã-tüę:r*, a pronunciation, according to Littré, current in the seventeenth century; *emmaigrir*[38] is given by H.-D. as *vieilli*; *épeautre* is quite a rare word despite the fact that Jean Richepin makes use of it in Act iv, Scene 1 of *Le Chemineau*:

> "Vous en avez écorché d'autres,
> Ah! dame! on a parfois la nielle en ses épeautres."

*resacrer*,[39] is not even given by Littré, and Larousse gives no author who uses it; *cheoir*[40] brings back to one's mind studies in Old French.

8. Colloquialisms, occurring in the selection on page 63. Cases like: d'une cheminée[41]= *dün šminç* have been commented on under *e* mute; and such pronunciation as là-dedans= *lad:ã* under double consonants. It only remains to speak of a number of colloquial expressions due most of them to assimilation. In a number of cases, usually, *d* of *de* before *s* +front vowel is represented phonetically by t, thus: reluisants de céruse[42]=*rełüizã t sęrü:z*; en train de sécher[43]=*ã trę̃ t sęšę*; m'arrivait dessus[44]=*marivę tsü*; bateau de pommes[45]= *bato t pom*; filet de fumée[46]=*filę t fümę*; au-dessus[47]=*ołsü*; pleine de soleil[48]=*plęn t sołę:ł*; et de si étonnant, de si renversant=*ętsi ętonã, tsi rãvęrsã*. There is no doubt that such pronunciations are common, but whether they represent standard French and belong in an elementary treatise seems to me doubtful. To be sure, Passy indicates such usage, but his works and texts exemplify one phase of the language, — the spoken idiom. Given the chance, the student will fall into these ways quite quickly enough.

The examples which follow are taken from the qualitative list which my students were required to make. First the phonetical form as transcribed by Prof. Matzke is given, and on the same line, after it, his French translation of it, which the M.-P. phonetically written form immediately follows. The comparison speaks forcibly for itself. I merely give in this résumé of our work the first seven examples,[49] together with the footnotes which will illustrate the character of the work throughout, this one list comprising about three hundred words compared.

21 P. 31. 22 P. 45.
23 *L. c.*, p. 4. 24 See Cauvet, p. 66.
25 P. 18. 26 P. 21. 27 P. 23. 28 *Ibid.*
29 P. 24. 30 P. 25. 31 P. 26. 32 P. 34.
33 P. 40. 34 P. 43. 35 P. 44. 36 P. 48.
37 P. 3. 38 P. 23.

39 P. 38. 40 P. 39. 41 P. 67, l. 3.
42 P. 63, l. 12.
43 *Ibid.*, l. 13. 44 P. 65, l. 10. 45 *Ibid.*, lines 10, 11.
46 P. 67, l. 3. 47 *Ibid.*, l. 10. 48 P. 69, l. 10.
49 Pp. 1–2.

| M.'s *Primer.* | | | M.-P. *Dictionnaire.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | P. 1. | *avua:r*[50] | avoir | *avwa:r.* |
| 2. | P. 2. | *ęmę*[51] | aimer | *ε·me ou e·me.* |
| 3. | " | *męzõ* | maison | *me·zɔ̃ ou me·zɔ̃.* |
| 4. | " | *dęklarę* | déclarer | *dekla·re.* |
| 5. | " | *fęnę:tr* | fenêtre | *f(ə)nε:tr.* |
| 6. | " | *pastœ:r* | pasteur | *pastœ:r.* |
| 7. | " | *prizm* | prisme | *prism ou prizm.* |

Many of the words occur over and over again; nevertheless with the class I have had a record made of every variation every time it occurred. This is laborious, but the discipline in the matter of accuracy will repay serious students, such as I have had, and will reveal the inherent character of the elements of the language,and the distinctions between them in mechanism and sound, in such a way as to leave a lasting impression. Take the Fr. forms: *enfouir* and *enfuir*. Written as in the Michaelis-Passy dictionary *ã·fwi:r* and *ã·fyi:r*,these two words become a lesson in themselves on quantity and position and on the mechanism of vowel sounds.

The second list which the class made,embracing between five and six hundred words, was a purely quantitative list,and its compilation was for the purpose of drill in *quantity*. If there is one thing more than another that even good students of French know absolutely nothing about, that is quantitative distinctions in reading and speaking. This is natural, for they hear it and speak it so little. It is on the stage, and in general in public, that these distinctions are more obvious than in familiar conversation.

Prof. Matzke says that: "for practical purposes it is sufficient to distinguish two degrees of length, the long and the short vowel."[52] To be sure, with beginners, any more distinctions might for the moment prove embarrassing; but with advanced students the making up of this quantitative list has proven as profitable as has the compiling of the qualitative list above. Much of the trouble in pronunciation arises from not recognizing the value of a *lengthened* vowel, which, while not quite so long as an accented one of *full* length, is nevertheless long enough to be unpleasantly missed if its time value is ignored by classing it as short. The difference between full length and short quantity must be palpable even to an untrained ear. There is, however, more difference between a short vowel and a so-called half-long than there is between the half-long and that of full length. If, instead of classifying short and long, we classify short and lengthened, it is a simple matter to remember that full length vowels occur only in the stressed syllable, and that the same vowel occurring in the unaccented syllable is, as a rule, half-long;[53] thus: banque=*bã:k;* but banquier=*bã·kje;* longue=*lõ:g;* but longueur=*lõ·gœ:r.* As this principle covers thousands of cases of nasal vowels in the unstressed syllable which are obviously long in the stressed, it becomes of immediate and wide utility. Take, for example, the French form: incompréhensibilité=*ẽ·kõ·pre-ã·si-bi-li-te.* There is a whole lesson on quantity, and on that most essential matter, the division of syllables, (not to mention several other points) in that one word, when separated into syllables and written phonetically as in the M.-P. dictionary. The student who will take the forms which Prof. Matzke gives and supply from the M.-P. dictionary quantities for the unaccented syllables throughout the manual will, I believe, be effectively cured of ever bolting a French word.

Lastly, in going through the *Primer*, a large number of misprints or slips (well-nigh impossible to avoid in phonetic transcription) and examples for which, as it seemed to us, no adequate authority could be found, were noticed. Any of us who use text-books will, I think, agree that it is in the interest of all concerned to call attention to any such inadvertence, however slight, sharing on this subject the feelings of one of our MOD. LANG. NOTES critics "that for our students nothing should be thought too good."[54]

50 H.-D. gives as a rule for the sound in Fr. *-oir* the commoner variety of *a* (or front *a*). As may be expected and as M.-P, notes (p. 315), the inversions between *a* and a are more numerous than the many between *e* and *ε*, *o* and *ɔ*, *ø* and *œ*. Prof. M's usage with regard to words in *-oir* is the opposite of that given by M.-P., as the forms for *avoir* illustrate; always bearing in mind that M's *a* stands for the less common variety (or back *a*), while the *a* of M.-P. stands for the commoner variety (or front *a*).

51 .H.-D. [è-mé]. Alfred Cauvet, on p. 38 of *La prononciation française et la diction* (10me édition, Paris, 1889), says: "Il n'y a que les villages éloignés de la Basse Normandie où l'on prononce *è-mé, è-dé.*"

52 P. 31, § 45.

53 M.-P., p. 314, B.

54 F. De Haan in the NOTES for June, 1897, p. 182, column 364.

| M.'s *Primer.* | | M.-P. *Dictionnaire.* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. P. 3: *fõsiõ* | fonction | *fɔ̃·ksjɔ̃.* |
| 2. " *kõsõsiõ* | consomption | *kɔ̃·sɔ̃psjɔ̃.* |
| 3. " *sãtüe:r* | sanctüaire[55] | *sã(k)tye:r.* |
| 4. P. 12: *ne* | net | *net.* |
| 5. P. 14: *rɔti*[56] | rôti | *rɔti.* |
| 6. P. 15: *žɔli* (4th phrase) | joli[57] | *ʒɔli ou ʒœli.* |
| 7. P. 26: *rezõsiõ*[58] | résumption | (*not given*). |
| 8. P. 27: 2nd phrase: Nous irons en Europe juin prochain.[59] | | |
| 9. P. 28: *rua*[60] | roi | *rwa.* |
| 10. P. 29: *uin=üẽ*[60] | | |
| 11. " *süẽ*[6] | suint | *syẽ ou syœ̃.* |
| 12. " *süẽte*[60] | chuinter | *syẽ·te ou syœ̃·te.* |
| 13. P. 30: 9th phrase: Les fruits, etc., . . . . sont mûres.[61] | | |
| 14. " 14th " *ie:r*[62] *sua:r* | hier soir | *je:r ou i(j)e:r swa:r.* |
| 15. P. 32: *sü:t*[63] | chûte[64] | *syt.* |
| 16. P. 33: *ren* | rène[65] | *ren.* |
| 17. " *tet* | tète[66] | *tet.* |
| 18. " *sen*[67] | saine | *se(:)n.* |
| 19. P. 34: *ple* | plait[68] | *ple.* |
| 20. P. 36: *nœšatel* | Neufchatel[69] | *nø·ʃa·tel.* |
| 21. " *ko:k*[70] | coke | *kɔk.* |
| 22. P. 39: *gzenofon*[71] | Xénophon | *gzenɔfɔ̃.* |
| 23. " *sua:r* | cheoir[72] | *ʃwa·r.* |
| 24. " *kri* | Christ | *krist.* |
| 25. " *aršiepiskopal* | archiépiscopal | *arkiepiskɔpal.* |
| 26. P. 40: *gita:r* | guitarre[73] | *gita:r.* |
| 27. " *ãbigüite*[74] | ambiguïté | *ã·bigyite.* |
| 28. P. 41: *otel*[56] | hôtel | *ɔtel.* |
| 29. " *laaz* | la hache | *la haʃ.* |
| 30. " *otsü* | haut-dessus[75] | *o·tsy.* |
| 31. " *ero* | héro[76] | *he·ro.* |
| 32. P. 44: *fiziognomi* | physiognomie[77] | |
| 33. " *rekuiem*[78] | requiem | *rekyi(j)em.* |

55 No diæresis over the *u*.

56 Cf. Grandgent, *l. c.*, note 2, p. 10.

57 Should be *jolie* here.

58 Littré and Larousse both give *ré-zon-psi-on*; Lesaint (p. 107) gives *ri-zonp-cion*.

59 *Juin prochain* certainly lacks the idiomatic ring about it in French that E. "next June" has. I doubt whether any educated Frenchman will tolerate it.

60 The semi-consonantal diacritic under the *u* is missing.

61 Should be *mûrs* here.

62 The semi-consonantal mark under the *i* is missing. On p. 28, d. ie:r is written.

63 According to H.-D. the length of the vowel is *moyen*.

64 No accent over the *u* in the French word.

65 Should be *renne; rène* and *tète* appears in the second edition of *Les Sons*, p. 60; in the third edition, it is corrected, p. 80, while in the fourth edition, curiously enough, it reappears, p. 84.

66 More commonly *tette*.

67 See the list (p. 157) in the fourth edition of *Les Sons*; it appears by the note that the quantity of this word may be either long or short.

68 Should have a circumflex accent over the *i*.

69 Should have a circumflex accent over the *a*: M.-P. writes: Neu(f)châtel.

70 H.-D. [kŏk'].

71 According to Lesaint and Larousse the last vowel in *Xénophon* is nasal.

72 The modern spelling is *choir*.

73 Should be *guitare*.

74 The diacritic under the *ü* is missing; [*en vers* -gu-i-té] H.-D.

75 Should be *au-dessus*.

76 Should be *héros*.

77 This form is not to be found even in the largest dictionaries, hence its place in the *Primer* may properly be questioned.

78, 79 Should have diæresis over the *u*.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | " *übikuitẹ*[79] | ubiquité | *ybikyite.* |
| 35. | P. 46: *fiẹ*[80] | fier (the verb) | *fje.* |
| 36. | " *ir:ẹgülẹ* | irregulier[81] | *i(r)regylje.* |
| 37. | P. 48, last phrase: *ẹpɑrnẹ*[82] | épargner | *eparne.* |
| 38. | P. 52, phrase 11: Le temps fait beau,[83] etc. | | |
| 39. | P. 57: *nu-dǫ-na:m*[84] | nous donnâmes[84] | |
| 40. | " *vu-dǫ-na:t*[84] | vous donnâtes[84] | |
| 41. | P. 58: *kil-dǫ-na*[84] | qu'il donnât[84] | |
| 42. | P. 63: *ǫzurdüi*[85] | aujourd'hui | *ɔʒurdɥi ou ɔʒɔrdɥi.* |
| 43. | P. 63, l. 16: *d mil ptit*[86] | de mille petites | |
| 44. | P. 65, l. 6: *ün*[87] *mẽ:s lizẹrẹ* | un mince liséré | |
| 45. | P. 67, l. 20: *bɑtǫ dẹ*[88] *blɑ̃šisœ:z* | bateau de blanchisseuses | |
| 46. | P. 73, l. 3: *dẹ fǫ*[89] *ẽtẹrẹ* | de faux intérêt | |
| 47. | P. 73, l. 8: *ẹ dẹ*[90] *grɑ̃:d pɑt* | et de grandes pattes | |
| 48. | P. 73, l. 11: *ɑlfǫ:s*[91] | Alphonse | |

Besides these inaccuracies which I have numbered, there are among the Illustrative Sentences throughout the manual a number of phrases which certainly can be improved and made the better to typify French usage. From those criticised by the class, I select a few by way of illustration:

P. 22. Le nouveau maître est beaucoup aimé par ses élèves.

P. 27. Les Européens n'ont pas connu l'Amérique avant la découverte de Colomb.

P. 30. Avant d'entrer en France on doit passer en douane.

P. 31. La pluie a tombé presque toute la journée.

P. 48. Il coucha le fusil en joue et tira sur l'ours.

P. 49. Vous avez là un bel exemplaire de l'histoire de Guizot.

P. 53. Ils resteraient ici, s'ils avaient encore du temps.

Anyone who will use the system of phonetic transcription employed by Prof. Matzke and that of the *Association Internationale* will, I believe, find the latter the simpler. Where many diacritic marks are used, as in the *Primer*, the chances of making mistakes are increased proportionately. Evidence of this, to a certain extent, is the number of diacritics omitted in the above list. Take the form given for Fr. juin=*žüẽ*, (three letters and five diacritics) and compare it with the corresponding forms in the M.-P. dictionary *ʒɥœ̃, ʒɥẽ, ʒwẽ;* compare also Fr. chuinter=*šüẽtẹ* with the M.-P. forms *ʃɥẽ·te* and *ʃɥœ̃·te;* also Fr. essuyer=*ẹsüẹ* with the M.-P. *esɥije.* I believe that more time and more care must be expended in writing any of these words according to Prof. Matzke's system than according to that adopted by M.-P.; but the two systems stand side by side, and one has only to compare them. To summarize, I believe it to be of the highest importance to the cause of education in general for scholars to unite on one system. To aid in doing this nothing more important to one phase of linguistic science has appeared than the *Dictionnaire Phonétique.* Is it not fitting here to ask scholars to give it a trial?

In his preface to this work, M. Gaston Paris says:

"Votre dictionnaire sera encore utile à la science par les doutes mêmes ou les contradictions qu'il ne manquera pas de provoquer; car tous vos lecteurs ne seront pas de votre avis dans tous les cas, et il sera très interessant de noter les points sur lesquels leur opinion diffère de la vôtre, et de rechercher les causes de ce dissentiment."

The comparisons made in our class-room this fall, specimens of which I shall be glad to show to any who may feel interested to see them, and of which this article, long as it is, is only a very brief *résumé*, have been called forth by the interest awakened by the new phonetical dictionary. The *Primer of French Pronunciation* has had just the effect which, according to M. Paris, the dictionary is destined to have, and therefore Professor Matzke's work, both in stimulating interest and inviting comparison, has proven directly and indirectly doubly effective.

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80 Should have diacritic under the *i* [*en vers* fi-e], H.-D.

81 The acute accent over the first *e* is missing.

82 The diacritic over the *n* is missing.

83 Only heard, I believe, in our school rooms.

84 These verbal terminations are pronounced with front *a*, as most of the grammars state: Grandgent, *l. c.*, p. 11, note 1; Bevier, p. 24, § 39, 1; Passy, *Les Sons*, fourth edition, p. 151, 3°. Beyer and Passy, considering that in the north of France there are no such tenses as the above forms belong to, omit a *passé défini* throughout their verb system, and consequently the imperfect of the subjunctive.

85 The diacritic over the *z* is missing.

86 Hardly to be imitated, if according to the authorities, standard pronunciation recommends *mon p'tit*, but *une petite* [mɔ̃ pti, yn pətit]. On the next transcribed page (65), seven lines from the bottom, occurs ün ptit afẹ:r=*une petite affaire.* Cf. Chardenal's *First French Course* xviii (2).

87 Should be œ̃.

88 Should be dẹ.

89 Evidently dɔ fɔx ẹtere also; cf. Lesaint, p. 398. This question of "linking" often brought out in the class profitable discussion on mooted points.

90 Should be d[e].

91 Should be alfǫ:s.

A from Boston University

UNIV. OF MICH.
JUN 15 1967

# AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON,

## PAPER NO. II.

— BY —

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# *AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.**

*Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."*

PAPER No. II.[1] A.

"*Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine*" is the title of a paper by Professor E. S. Sheldon, of Harvard University, published in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Mod. Lang. Association of America*,[2] in which the writer by recording phonetically one hundred and thirty-seven locutions (words, phrases, expressions), gives an idea of what may be heard in local dialect French in Maine. I have already shown in Paper No. I, by a word for word comparison, such differences as the three dialects there compared may offer, attempting when possible to explain or account for features especially interesting when compared with standard French. It is now the purpose of this paper to make a similar comparison of the two Acadian dialects recorded in Paper No. I with the Specimens from the Canadian-French dialect of Maine examined by Professor Sheldon.

The sound notation used in Paper No. I, as there stated, is identical or meant to be as nearly so as possible with Professor Sheldon's, which is also adhered to here and given for convenience of reference. In no other way, I believe, can the "regular character of sound changes in popular dialects" be so faithfully and strikingly presented as by the use of phonetic spelling. The symbols *h* (Spanish *jota*), *ɪ* as in E. *pin*, *ȯ* as in E. *dull*, and *ʊ̈* as in E. *pull*, I have added for the other two dialects.

VOWELS: a, Fr. p*a*s; å, E. l*a*w; à, Fr. r*a*t; ã, Fr. *an*, *en*; æ, E. h*a*t; æ̃, Fr. *in*; é, Fr. d*é*; è, Fr. t*ê*te; Professor Sheldon has two varieties of *ɛ*: *ɛ*[1] nearer *é* and è[2] nearer *æ*; ẽ, nasal of *é* ə, Fr. d*e*; i, Fr. n*i*; ɪ, E. p*i*n; ó, Fr. p*o*t; ȯ, Fr. t*o*rt; ȯ̃, E. d*u*ll; õ, Fr. *on*; ö, Fr. p*eu* (rare); ö́, more closed than Fr. p*eu*; ö̀, as in Fr. p*eu*r (not frequent); ö̃, Fr. *un*; u, Fr. to*u*t; ʊ̈, E. p*u*ll; ü, Fr. l*u*ne.

CONSONANTS: b, Fr. *b*out; d, Fr. *d*ent; f, Fr. *f*aux; g, Fr. *g*ros; h, Fr. *h*onte; ḥ, Sp. *j*efe; k, Fr. *c*ar; l, Fr. *l*ong; m, Fr. *m*ot; n, Fr. *n*i; ñ, Fr. enseig*n*ement; p, Fr. *p*as; r, Fr. *r*ond (lingual); s, Fr. *s*i; š, Fr. *ch*amp; t, Fr. *t*as; v, Fr. *v*ent; w, Fr. *ou*i; y, Fr. *y*ole; z, Fr. *z*èle; ž, Fr. *j*oue.

For the sake of brevity, I have taken the key-words of sounds from Passy's *Sons du Français* and therefore to ensure accuracy as far as possible, must refer the dialect student to Professor Sheldon's "*Specimens*," where will be found an introduction to his article and then the vowels and consonants of the dialect together with a more or less detailed description of some of their characteristics. In order the better to draw conclusions from the present paper, it is important to read Professor Sheldon's remarks given outside of the one hundred and thirty-seven numbered phrases. Throughout the phrases themselves, I have endeavored in every instance to give essentially—and nearly always textually—just what Professor Sheldon recorded. He adds to his introductory remarks: "The English translations are those given me at the time, the French equivalent words are by me." Quantity he indicates occasionally when the vowel is very plainly long as *ā*, *ẽ*, etc. The accented syllable is usually unmarked, but when noted is so by a dot (·) after the vowel as *ȧ*, *é·*, etc.

The first twenty-two of Professor Sheldon's *Specimens* are arranged so as to show examples of Maine dialect *h*=Fr. *ž*; specimens 23 to 34, dialect *tš*=Fr. *t* or *k* followed by a front vowel; specimens 34 to 55, dialect *dž*=Fr. *y* (consonant), *g* followed by a front vowel, *d* followed by *i*; specimens 55 through 137, miscellaneous examples. As the attempt to explain sound changes from standard French was made in the notes to Paper No. I, where, in these dialects, the same change is noted, merely the reference to the number of the note where such explanation occurs will be given.

## I. WATERVILLE, ME., DIALECT *h*[3]=Fr. *ž*; also *ž*=Fr. *ž*.[4]

1 Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, and in the January and February numbers for 1894. Also issued separately.

2 *Ib.* Vol. iii (1887), pp. 210–218. Also issued separately.

* Deprinted from MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, Dec., 1897.

3 The clue to the origin of this most interesting peculiarity is given by Professor Sheldon on the last page of his "Specimens."

4 Dialect *ž*—Fr. *ž* is Cheticamp usage; but dialect *h* or *ḥ*—Fr. *ž* can also be heard among the most illiterate in Carleton and is frequent all along the north shore of the bay of Chaleurs.

Waterville: gahõ, ka[6]lèfòl sta[7]famla (or lå)[8]=that woman's a fool=gageons qu'elle est folle, cette femme-là.

1. Carleton: gàžõ,[5] kà[6]lé[9]fòl stəfamlå[8]=gageons qu'elle est folle, cette femme-là.

Cheticamp: gàzõ, kà[6]lèfòl[10] stəfamlå[8]=gageons qu'elle est folle, cette femme-là.

W.: gahõ, kəstòmlå è fũ=that man's a fool=gageons que cet homme-là est fou.

2. C.: gàžõ,[5] kəstòmlå é fu=gageons que cet homme-là est fou.

CC.: gàžõ, kəstu[11]mlå è fu=gageons que cet homme-là est fou.

W.: gæhé=to wager=gager.

3. C.: gàzé[12] gahé,[12] gaḥé[12]=gager.

CC.: gàzé[12]= "

W.: hèlèfèt and žèlèfèt[13]=I have done it=je l'ai fait(e?) The second *e* was at least once plainly *ə* not *é*. But cf. Nos. 15, 16.

4, 5. C.: žléfè and { žèlèfèt[12,13] / hlèfèt } =je l'ai fait(e?).

CC.: žléfè { hlèfèt / ḥlèfèt } = " " " "

W.: { hèlèfètèdz[14]ẽr / žèlèfètèdzẽr[14] } =I did it yesterday=je l'ai fait(e?) hier. The penultimate *ə* was very short and may have been *é*.

6, 7. C.: { žléfèiyèr[15] / žléfètiyèr[15] } =je l'ai fait hier.

CC.: žléfèiyèr= " " " "

W.: èž[18]vå[16]wèdž[14]ahé=I am going to travel=je vais (or rather *vas*) voyager. Possibly *ə* should be written for *d*. The *w* pronounced with lips protruded.

8. C.: žə[18] vå[16] wéàgé=je vais (or rather *vas*)[18] voyager.

CC.: žə[18] vå[16] wèyàžé[17]=je vais (or rather *vas*)[18] voyager.

W.: žè vå[18] mãhé=I am going to eat=je vais manger.

9. C.: žə vå[18] mãhé (maḥé)=je vais (vas)[18] manger.

CC.: žə vå[18] mãzé=je vais (vas)[18] manger.

W.: sa grã hè grãd=his stable is large=sagrange est grande. Cf. nos. 22 and 99.

10. C.: sà grãž é grãd=sa grange est grande. (grãḥ)

CC.: sà grãž è grãd=" " " "

W.: la nèž (or nèuž, with very short *u*)=la neige.

11. C.: là nèž and lànćž[19]=la neige.

CC.: là nèž= " "

W.: èždèn=I am giving=je donne, defined as. "I am giving all, the whole of it."[24]

12. C.: ž dòn[20]=je donne.

CC.: ž dun[21]=" "

5 That *g* žõ prevails over *g hõ* or *gàḥõ*, which may be heard, is possibly due to the influence of education.

6 For explanation of Fr. *ə* before a pronounced consonant=dialect *a* or *à* (so common in many Fr. dialects), for example, Fr. *verte*=dialect vàrt, see note no. 77, Paper No. I.

7 The first *a* in *stafam* may be due to the influence of the second *a*.

8 For dialect å=Fr. *à* or *a*, see ‖, under note 42, Paper No. I.

9 The Carleton dialect has regularly in the second and third persons singular the mid-front-narrow *é* for CC. low-front-narrow, a slight change noted also in *Les parlers parisiens* by Koschwitz.

10 The vowel is about as in E. *dull*, mid-back-narrow instead of Fr. mid-mixed-wide-round; a change that may remind one of Fr. *ou* in certain words=dialect *ü*, for instance, Fr. *bouche*=dialect *büž*, exactly like the E. word "*bush*," though this latter change is due merely to relaxation of the muscles, that is, the *wide* replaces the *narrow*.

11 Fr. *om* and *on*, not nasal, are regularly represented by *u-u* and *un* in the CC. dialect; for example, Fr. *donner*=CC. *dune*, see Paper No. I, note 64.

12 Cf. notes 4 and 5.

13 Analogy of feminine forms in *t* prevails; this occurs frequently in both Acadian and Canadian, though more noticeable in Canadian French as remarked in note no. 59 of Paper No. I.

14 A case of dialect *dž*=Fr. *y* (consonant).

15 As a rule in these dialects, sounds produced in French by linking are unrepresented, or less common than in ordinary French.

16 For dialect *wé* or *wè*=Fr. *voi*, see note no. 94, and in regard to the Fr. diphthong *oi*, the *Remarks* under notes, nos. 103 and 111, Paper No. I.

17 In commoner use than *wèy žé* is *trivelé* from E. *travel*.

18 For this popular Fr. form, see note 42, Paper No. I.; for the explanation of this so characteristic sound in these dialects see the note ‖ under note 42, Paper No. I.

19 *nèž* by the old, *néž* by the young: the same with the words *kolèž*=Fr. *collège*, *liž*=Fr. *liège* and *siège*=Fr. *siège*; see notes no. 80 and no. 87, Paper No. I.

20 For the vowel, see note 10.

21 For the vowel, see note 11.

W.: èžs[22]üt[23]aprèdèné="I am giving a great lot of something "[24]=Je suis après donne: cf. nos. 86, 87.

13. C. ž [22]sü áprè[46] dŏ[20]né—je suis apèr donner.

CC.: A like expression is not in nse.

W.: èždèntüt,[25] mwè[26]=je donne tout, moi, cf. no. 76.

14. C.: ž dŏ[20]n tut,[25] mwà[26]=je donne tout, moi, cf. no. 76.

CC.: A like expression is not in use.

W.: èždžédèné a lüi=I have given (it?) to him=je (le? lui?) ai donné à lui.[27]

15. C.: sé[9]àlüi kə žlè dŏ[20]né and sét à[28] lüi= c'est à lui que je l'ai donné.

CC.: sè à lüi kə žlé du[21]né=c'est à lui que je l'ai donné.

W.: èždžédèné a èl[27]=I have given (it?) to her:=Je (le? lui?)[27] ai donné à elle.

16. C.: sé[9] à èl kə žlè dŏ[20]né and sét[28] à el= c'est à elle que je l'ai donné.

CC.: sè à[29] yèl kə žlé du[21]né=c'est à elle que je l'ai donné.

W.: èždžé[30] été dzēr é rākōtré[31] tsègzō̃ (or perhaps—kzō̃)=I walked yesterday and met some one=j'(y?)ai été hier et rencontré quelq'un (from the plural quelques-uns apparently).

17. C.: žé été[30] yèr éžè rākōtré k[32]ŏkō̃=j'ai été hier et j'ai rencontré quelqu'un.

CC.: ž é été[30] yèr é žè rākōtré tšŏkō̃=j'ai été hier et j'ai rencontré quelqu'un.

W.: èždživå[18]=I am going=j'y vais.

18. C.: ž i vå[18]=j'y vais.

CC.: ž i vå[18]= " "

W.: žèlgard=I am keeping it=je le garde.

19. C.: žəlgàrd=je le garde.

CC.: žəlgàrd=" " "

W.: èž vå[18] vwèr džü[33] pidžī (or perhaps pidzī. I had not seen the origin of pidžī till Professor Chaplin suggested it. Cf. no. 51.)=I am going to travel, see some places or cities=je vais voir du pays.

C.: ž vå[18] wèr[16] dü pèyi=je vais voir du pays.

CC.: ž vå[18] wèr[16] dü pèyi=je vais voir du pays.

W.: žævè[35]frètèdžēr=I was cold yesterday=javais froid hier. The penultimate è I was told could not be omitted; cf. no. 6, 47.

21. C.: žàvèfrè[34]t yèr=javais froid hier.

CC.: žàvèfr[34]èt yèr= " " "

W.: æn[36] (or ün) grāž=a stable=une grange. Cf. nos. 10, 99. The ž was not very distinct, but different from the *h* in no. 10. For another ž=Fr. ž, see no. 23.

22. C.: ŏn grāž=une grange.

CC.: ŏn grāž= " "

22 A form corresponding to Fr. *suis*, E. *am* is common to the three dialects.

23 This *t* is due apparently to the influence of the third person singular, where being sounded before a vowel, it here appears by analogy in the first person.

24 This is the rendering of the phrase given Professor Sheldon by the person using it.

25 See note 13 for explanation of *t*. This expression is much used in Carleton.

26 *mwà* is a Canadian pronunciation; *mwà* Acadian as explained in the *Remark* under note 103, Paper No. I.

27 I have no example of the use of a conjunctive and disjunctive pronoun together as the questioned rendering of the Waterville dialect expression into French leads one to suppose possibly existing in this phrase which could represent dialect— { C.: žyè dŏné / CC.: žyè dunè } *y* or *yi*—Fr. *lui* (W. dialect *dž*—Fr. *y*). This *dž* appears to correspond to the conjunctive pronoun *yi* in the other two dialects—Fr. *lu*.

28 See note 15 in regard to *t* silent or sounded.

29 For this objective form *yèl*, see note no. 75, Paper No. I; the *y* arising between vowels, a common trait in phonology.

30 A note given me by Mlle. Allard (*dlŏr*), the school teacher in Carleton, seems to apply to all three dialects: "Tout le monde dit; *j'ai été;—je suis allé* ne se dit que par les gens instruits."

31 The dialect correspondence *tš*—Fr. *k* before front vowels, agrees usually; exceptions occur however in both dialects; cf. phrase no. 33, W. *tšèkzòm* and CC. *tšŏk um* and see note 50. A form like *tšŏtsŏ* for Fr. *quelqu'un* in CC. might be expected, but is not found,

32 Fr. *l* as in popular Fr. completely lost in these dialects.

33 For this pronunciation noticeable about Quebec, see note no. 118, Paper No. I and note 68, Paper No. II.

34 For the *t*, see note no. 109, Paper No. I; "*freit*" and "*fret*" (with pronounced *t*) are common forms in centre of France dialects,—see the dictionaries; the rural pronunciation in the neighborhood of Paris is "*froué*." Agnel, *La prononciation et le langage rustiques des environs de Paris* (Paris, 1855).

35 I have noted for the most common Canadian pronunciation žævæ and žàvæ;—see (5) and word list below,—also note no. 56 of Paper No. I.

36 I believe this to be the same form which M. Legendre writes: *an'* and gives as the Canadian form used before feminine words beginning with a consonant; like *æ*—Fr. *un, an* appears due to unrounding. (*La langue française au Canada*, p. 46.)

II. WATERVILLE tš=Fr. *t* or *k*[37] FOLLOWED BY A FRONT VOWEL.

W.: tšèl âž kə ta?[38] (or perhaps ðž)=how old are you?=quel âge que tu as?

23. C.: kyöl âž kə tâ?[38] also kyözâž kə tâ?=quel âge que tu as?

CC.: tšèl âž kə tâ?=quel âge que tu as?

W.: tšẽz=quinze.

24. C.: kyẽz= "

CC.: tšæ̃z= "

W.: õ or æ̃ butšé=flowers, bouquet=un bouquet.

25. C.: õ[40] or æ̃[40] bukyè=un bouquet.

CC.: æ̃ butšè= " "

W.: i[15] ō dè[42] butšé=they have flowers. Ils (*and* elles?) ont des bouquets.

26. C.: i[15] ō dé[42] bukyè=ils ont des bouquets *and* elles ont des bouquets.

CC.: i[15] àvō[41] dé[42] butšè=ils ont des bouquets *and* elles ont des bouquets.

W.: sè[42] fàm là ō dè[42] butšè=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

27. C.: sé[42] fàm là ō dé[42] bukyè=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

CC.: sé[42] fàm là àvō[41] dé[42] butšé=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

W.: el[43] butšè (or butšèt) è flöri=the bouquet is in blossom=le bouquet est fleuri. The *e* in *el* (the definite article) my notes do not mark. I think it was *ə*.

28. C.: lə bukyè é flöri=le bouquet est fleuri.

CC.: lə butšè è flöri=le bouquet est fleuri.

W.: ètšü[44] tut aprè[46]dèné a ta mèr?=are you giving everything to your mother=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

29. C.: étü tut àprè dòné à tà mèr?=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

CC.: A like expression not in use=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

W.: dla mòtšè=half=de la moitié.

30. C.: dlà mò[45]kyé=de la moitié.

37 As Professor Sheldon says (p. 7 of *Specimens*), the Norman dialects offer many examples of *tš*=Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel. Cf. also the many forms corresponding to Fr. *k* plus front vowel which J nain gives for the Saintonge dialect, writing them with h; for example *h.tter*=Fr. *quitter*; *çhuré*=Fr. *cure*, etc.

38 Popular rural French also (Agnel, p. 48).

39 The *z* is due to analogy with cases like Fr. *quels arts* where a *z* sound is heard.

40 My notes lead me to believe *æ̃* to be the popular form most commonly in use for the masculine indefinite article; also popular spoken French; *ō* appears to me "learned."

41 This form is on the analogy of the first person plural of present indicative in the dialect which is *ʒàvō*. It would not be easy to find more marked instances of the activity of analogy in language than in some of these Acadian dialects, where as in Cheticamp C. B., throughout the entire verb system, not excepting the auxiliaries, the verb form of the third person plural is the same as that of the first person plural, and *accented* on the last syllable. Examples of this accentuation are found in Old-French texts; for instance, in his edition to *La naissance du chevalier au cygne* (Vol. iv. for 1888-9, of the *Publications of the M. L. A.*, p. 105 of the "Notes," line 374), Professor Todd notes *mov nt*, citing other lines of this practice in the same poem, and giving references where the striking feature has been mentioned elsewhere. Also in the xix. volume of the *Romania*, p. 332 of the *compte-rendu* by G. Paris of Professor Todd's edition of *La naissance du chevalier au cygne*, this feature of the text is commented on by M. Paris, who calls it "fort remarquable et même singulière." Förster in the last (1896) small edition of Kristian von Troyes' *Erec und Enide*, in the note to line 1449 of p. xlii of the Introduction, also notes this remarkable trait, referring the student to Söderhjelm. Meyer-Lübke in vol. ii of theFrench translation of his *Grammaire des langues romanes*, p. 199 (bottom), says: "Les premiers exemples de ce déplacement d'accent peuvent s'observer en ancien français déjà," and there follows a statement of the territory in France where the feature is actually current. Professor Sheldon first drew my attention to the importance of the phenomenon which has been studied but recently in its entirety: *Ueber Accentverschiebung in der dritten Person Pluralis im Altfranzösischen*, von Werner Söderhjelm, Helsingfors, 1895, and of which a concise summary and favorable review is given by G. Paris in volume xxiv of the *Romania*, p. 492.

42 For forms corresponding to Fr. *ces* and *des*, M. Legendre says: "*Les* et *des* se prononcent presque invariablement *lé* et *dé*" (p. 49). "*Ces* se prononce toujours *cés*" (p. 50). *Langue française au Canada*. This recalls the interesting observations by E. Koschwitz of how such words are actually pronounced by educated Parisians. (*Les parlers parisiens*, second edition, Paris, 1896; see the comments on the Parisians themselves preceding the extracts.)

43 Professor Sheldon thinks the *e* of *el* (the definite article) to be *ə*.

44 I have remarked around Quebec this pronunciation, or very nearly such,—and I think the feature nearly identical with what M. Legendre describes when writing for Fr. *creature* and *rôtir*, *créat(z)ure*, *rôt(z)ir* (p. 47, *Langue française*). The feature is parallel with the Waterville form dzü recorded in phrase no. 20, to which see also the note below no. 33.

45 The first element of the Fr. diphthong in the first syllable of Fr. *moitié* is unrepresented in the three dialects, and the second element undergoes change; such variations are apt to be difficult to explain phonetically and especially in unaccented syllables as here.

46 In such words ending in an open *è* sound in Fr., the Canadian equivalent being *æ*, Fr. *après*—dialect *àpræ* [see Paper no. i, list (10)] one is tempted to look for such a pronunciation in Waterville, but here the dialect follows the two Acadian dialects.

CC.: dlà mö[45]tšé= " " "

W.: æn bèl kriètžür[47]=une belle femme (créature).[47]

31. C.: ön bèl kréàtür and kriàtür[48]=une belle femme (créature).[47]

CC.: ön bèl kréàtür=une belle femme (créature).[47]

W.: ptsi[49]=little=petit. The *p* was scarcely audible, but the lip motion was plain.

32. C.: pti[49]=petit.

CC.: pti[49]= "

W.: tšök[50]zòm=a few men=quelques hommes. The first vowel was ö when pronounced plainly. Cf. no. 17.

33. C.: kyök[50](kèk)òm=quelques hommes.

CC.: tsök[50]um[11] (tšèkum[11])=quelques hommes.

III. WATERVILLE *dž*=FRENCH *y* (consonant), *g* FOLLOWED BY A FRONT VOWEL,[51] *d* FOLLOWED BY *i*.

W.: džöl (or rather perhaps dzöli) in džöl sàl=gueule[52] sal.

34. C.: yöl sàl=gueule sal.

CC.: džöl sàl= " "

W.: i vå[18] mudžé=it is going to rain=il va mouiller (in the sense of 'pleuvoir,' as in at least one dialect in France).

35. C.: i[57] vå[18] muyé[53]=il va mouiller.

CC.: i[57] vå[18] muyé[53]=" " "

W.: ænédžüidž=une aiguille.

36. C.: önégüiy[54]= " "

CC.: önédžüiy= " "

W.: ön ödž=un oeil. But cf. no. 73.

37. C.: æn[40] öy=" "

CC.: æn öy= " "

W.: mè dözòrèdž=mes deux oreilles.

38. C.: mé[55] dözòréy= " " "

CC.: mé[55] dözöréy=mes deux oreilles.

W.: ön òrèdž (perhaps rather ön)=une oreille.

39. C.: ön òréy=une oreille.

CC.: ön öréy= " "

W.: midži='midi.'

40. C.: midi[56]=midi.

CC.: midi[56]= "

W.: idzivå[18] (probably rather dž)=he is going=il y va (?).

41. C.: i[57] y vå[18] and i yi vå[18]=il y va.

CC.: i[57] y vå[18]=il y va.

47 Professor Sheldon adds: "This was given as politer than no. 67." This is the sense I have noted in the Acadian dialects and evidently very generally the sense in Canada, as the dictionaries of Dunn and Clapin show.

48 This pronunciation I was told is heard "from the old and quite ignorant." The substitution of dialect *i* for Fr. *é* or *è* is not infrequent in the unaccented syllable. S. Clapin gives ten or more examples of such changes on p. xix of his *Dictionnaire Canadien-Français*.

49 Of course merely ordinary spoken French, Passy writing regularly *pti* (p. 9, l. 1, 2me édition, *Le français parlé*.)

50 As in popular French, (Passy writes *kèk*—Fr. *quelque*) so in the dialect the *l* is completely lost. The Waterville and Cheticamp dialects agree regularly, as a rule, in regard to dialect *tš*—Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel (*not* Fr. *t* followed by a single front vowel);—Professor Sheldon notes, however, for Waterville: "In no. 85 occurs the relative pronoun *ki*, not *tši*, and in no. 43 *sk džu* seems to be also an exception to the rule that French *k* before a front vowel corresponds to tš in this dialect. The latter exception may be due to the preceding *s*, or both the former and the latter may belong properly to another dialect; cf. the varying forms with *k* and *š* under I."

51 *dž*—Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel is applicable also to the Cheticamp dialect, just as we have found the Waterville and Cheticamp *tš* before front vowel coinciding as a rule to Fr. *k* in that position (not however to *t* before a single vowel).

52 The passage from the back position in Fr. *gueule* to the front position in *džöl*, though the mid palatal *y* position is among the most interesting of the sound developments in these dialects. Remarkably unique, too, is the treatment of Fr. *t* and *d* before front vowels, as shown above, and three cases of Fr. *d* in each of the dialects as pointed out in note no. 44 of Paper No. I.

53 *muyé*—Fr. *mouiller* is the popular form for Fr. *pleuvoir* in each of these dialects and I have observed it in general throughout Canada.

54 One might expect *dyiy*, just as *gueule* gives *yöl*, but I have been unable to find such a form. In phrase 73, Professor Sheldon writes for Fr. *ses yeux s·zyö*, which likewise makes an exception to Waterville *dž*—Fr. *y*. My notes lead me to believe that educational influence may in a measure explain such forms. In this connection the forms "*Diyom*"—Fr. *Guillaume*, "*dižae*"—Fr. *guichet*, *·d iy*—Fr. *aiguille* and *Burdiñö*—Fr. *Bourguignon* (heard about Quebec) are interesting by way of comparison.

55 Cf. note 42.

56 If *d* precedes *i* followed by a vowel, the dialect sound for Carleton is *y*; Fr. *Dieu*—*y*; for Cheticamp, it is *dž*: Fr. *Dieu*—*dž*. But if the Fr. *di* is followed by a consonant or final, the sound in the dialects is the same as the French sound.

57 *i* is the regular dialect form for Fr. *il* and *ils* before consonants; cf. with colloquial French, Beyer und Passy. *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 123.

W.: à dživå[18]=she is going=elle y va.

42. C.: às[58] yi[59] vå[18] and às[58] y[59] vå[18]=elle y va.

CC.: às[58] yi[59] vå[18] and à y[59] vå=elle y va.

W.: õli tūt àprèdèné skèdžå[18]=we are giving all, everything;=on (lui?) tout après donner ce qu'il y a (?). [50](for exception to *ts* Fr. *k*.)

43. C.: õn é tut àprè yi[59] dòné skyå[18]=nous lui donnons tout ce qu'il y a.

CC.: A like expression not in use.

W.: ma[60] vå[18] baldžél plāšé=I am going to sweep the floor=moi vais balayer la plancher.

44. C.: ž[64] må[18] bàlié[61] l plāšé (or) là plàs[62]=je vais balayer le plancher (or) la place.

CC.: ž vå[18] bàlié[61] (or) brusé[63] l plāšé=je vais balayer (or) brosser le plancher.

W.; ma[60] vå[18] baldžél tàpi=I am going to sweep the carpet=moi vais balayer le tapis.

45. C.: ž mà[64] bàlié[61] l tàpi=je vais balayer le tapis.

CC.: ž vå[18] brusé[63] l tàpi=je vais brosser le tapis.

W.: ō vå[18] baldžé=we are going to sweep=on va balayer.

46. C.: ō vå[18] bàlié[61]=we are going to sweep=on va balayer.

CC.: ō vå[18] bàlié[61] (or) brusé[63]=we are going to sweep=on va brosser.

W.: ifzèfrèt[34]dzèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.

47. C.: [57]ifzè frèt[34](i)yèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.

CC.: [57]ifzè frèt[34](i)yèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.

W.: ōdživå[18] tūt[13] (or perhaps *va*)=we are all going=on y va tou(te?)s.

48. C.: ō yi vå[18] tūt[13]=we are all going there=on y va tous (and) toutes.

CC.: ž y àlō[65] tut[13]=we are all going there=j'y allons tous (and) toutes.

W.; ma[60] vå[18] dzirir[66] (or perhaps vòl)=I am going to cure him=moi vais le guérir.

49. C.: ž mā vå[18] lə yièrir=I am going to cure him=je m'en vais le guérir.

CC.: ž vå[18] lə dzèrir=I am going to cure him=je vais le guérir.

W.: i è dziri[66]=he is cured=il est guéri.

50. C.: i é[9] yièri and il[67]éyièri=" " "

CC.: i[9] è yièri and il è[67] yieri=" " "

W.: æ̃ pidzi (or rather pidzi)[68]=a place, city? See no. 20.

51. C.: ō̃[40] pèy and æ̃[40] péy=un pays. See the Waterville form for Fr. *pied*, no. 101.

58 The usage in the Carleton and the Cheticamp dialects is *a* before consonants and *al* before vowels=Fr. *elle* used conjunctively.

59 *y*, *gui* and *yi* are the dialect forms for Fr. conjunctive *lui*.

60 I have tried to find an example in these French Acadian and Canadian dialects of *ma*=Fr. *moi* used as in the Waterville dialect in phrases 44, 45, 49 and 98, but have been unable to,—that is, in popular speech; my notes, however, contain an expression in which *mwa* is thus used in Carleton by a child: mwà å̯ vil dō̃ gl̥ ì å̯=(literally) Fr. *moi a vu deux gros rats*. This leads me to believe that the form thus used in the Waterville dialect may be due to individual peculiarity of expression on the part of the one speaking.

61 *b lie* is found in several French dialects as can be seen by consulting the dictionaries; cf. J nain, Dunn, Clapin; the explanation of course is simply phonetical,—the vowel preceding the *y* being attracted into the palatal position.

62 pl s is the popular word here; cf. Dunn and Clapin.

63 brus is the local popular word in this phrase.

64 *må̯* is a simple phonetical change,—the lips anticipating the stop *b* before getting there actually form one instead of a spirant.

65 The present indicative of *ăl*=Fr. *aller* runs thus in the Cheticamp dialect;—Sing: *ž vă̯, t i vă̯, i vă̯*; plural: *žalō, vuz ..lé, i àlō*. Cf. phrase no. 26, note 41.

66 The first *i* in *dzirir* is probably due to the influence of the *i* in the accented syllable.

67 *i* represents Fr. *il* and also Fr. *its* and *elles* before consonants and vowels. *il*=Fr. *il* can be heard before a vowel, but so it seemed to me only in studied speech. Cf. for Old French: *Thurot*, t. ii, p. 141, and for Modern French: *Das gesprochene Französisch* of Beyer and Passy, p. 123. Canadian *iz*=Fr. *ils*, *elles* is not popnlar here.

68 Both in phrase 20 and here Prof. Sheldon gives *z* or *ž* for the consonant preceding the *i*. I suspect the sound to be the same I noted in Quebec, corresponding to Fr. *d* before *i* and *ü*;—although before *u*, as in the next phrase, no. 52, Prof. Sheldon writes *ž*, and I was in doubt whether to write *z* or *ž*;—that is in such phrases as nos. 31 and 32 where Prof. Sheldon writes kriètš r=Fr. *créature* and *ptši* for Fr. *petit*, I hesitated continually between *ž* and *z*. Such dialectic characteristic affects the language as a whole quite sensibly and was rather pleasing than otherwise to my ear. Cf. note 33 referring to Paper No. I, note no. 118 referring to M. Legendre's spellings given to show this feature, namely: *d(z,u)*=Fr. *jour*, *d z)ire*.=Fr. *dire*; *créat(z)ure*=Fr. *créature* and *r. t(z)ir*=Fr. *r. tir*.

CC.: æ̃ péy=un pays.

W.: dž̌ü[69] bwå=wood=du bois.

52. C.: dü bwå[70] and bwà[70]=du bois.

CC.: dü bwà= " "

W.: rdž̌yæ̃ (èrdž̌yæ̃)[71]=rien.

53. C.: ryæ̃, (yæ̃)= "

CC.: ryã[72]= "

W.: sàkré mudzi (or possibly módž̌i)= sacré maudit. This I insert from memory of my schoolboy days, when I occasionally heard it from other boys n somewhat mocking reference to the French Canadians to whom it was credited. The word *mudž̌i*, as Professor Chaplin, who indeed first reminded me of its existence, has suggested to me, is probably the French '*maudit*.'—For other examples of *dž̌*, see nos. 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and the numerals no. 120.

54. C.: sàkré módi[73]=sacré maudit.

CC.: sàkré [75]mudi[74]=" "

W.: tẽ[2]t=tête.

55. C.: tẽt= "

CC.: tẽt= "

W.: sõz=chose.

56. C.: š̌õz= "

CC.: šũz[75]= "

W.: mabuš̌=ma bouche.

57. C.: màbüš̌[76]=ma bouche.

69 For the sound in *dž̌ü*, read the comments in the preceding note, no. 68.

70 Pronounced *bwå* by the young and *bwà* by the old.

71 In noting this form Professor Sheldon adds: "I also wrote *rdæyæ̃* marking the as reduced, but my notes say that the *r* was vowel though plainly rolled. Perhaps the *y* should be omitted. Cf. also *vyæ̃*, no. 85."

72 The dialect words corresponding to Fr. *chien*, *bien* and *rien* sounded to my ear more like *ž̌iã*, *biã* and *riã* than they did like *siæ̃*, *biæ̃* and *riæ*.

73 Heard much in the following and used in like expressions *vã ĩã sõ vu*, *s..kre m di fu*=Fr. *va-t-en chez vous*, *sacré maudit fou*.

74 For *d* final in the dialect=Fr. *di* final, see note 56.

75 Besides dialect *u* before *m* and *n*=Fr. *om* and *on* (not nasal) as stated in note no. 11, there are a number of other words where both in the accented syllable and in the unaccented, the same change occurs before other consonants just as in this case *mudi* and also in no. 56 in CC. *šuz*. Jônain mentions this feature on p. 17 of *Prononciation saintongeaise* (preceding the *Dictionnaire*). The lip action which Prof Sheldon points out as particularly strong for *ž̌* and *š̌*, I think accounts in general for such pronunciations or "roundings."

CC.: mà büš̌[76]=ma bouche gül=Fr. *goule* is, however, more popular.

W.: æ̃ livr[77]=un livre.

58. C.: æ̃ lĩv[78]= " "

CC.: æ̃ lĩv[78]= " "

W.: lòm=l'homme.

59. C.: lòm= "

CC.: lum[11]= "

W.: lèzòm=les hommes.

60. C.: lé[42]zòm=les hommes.

CC.: lé[42]zum[11]=les hommes.

W.: là fàm=la femme.

61. C.: là fàm=" "

CC.: là fàm=" "

W.: lè[42] fæm (fàm ?)=les femmes.

62. C.: lé[42] fàm= " "

CC.: lé[42] fàm= " "

W.: æ̃n[79] grã[80] fàm=une grande femme.

63. C.: ȍn grã[80] fàm= " " "

CC.: ȍn grã fäm— " " "

W.: æn[79] grõs fàm=une grosse femme. Or *ȍn*,[79] but there was not much *ȍ* quality.

64. C.: ȍn grõs fàm=une grosse femme.

CC.: ȍn grõs fàm= " " "

W.: æ̃ grãtòm=un grand homme.

65. C.: æ̃[40] grãtòm and æ̃ grãz[81]òm=un grand homme.

CC.: æ̃[40] grãtum=un grand homme.

W.: æ̃ grót[82]òm=un gros homme.

66. C.: æ̃ gró[82]tòm= " " "

CC.: æ̃ gró[82]tum= " " "

76 Here the difference between the dialect form and the French form seems to me to be that referred to in note 10, or "*wide*" for "*narrow*" and is exactly parallel to the common dialect feature ĩ =Fr. *i* (as in *isĩt*=Fr. *ici*), where the pronunciation of the ĩ is that in E. *bit*. The late Miss Soames in her *Introduction to the Study of Phonetics*, p. 49, discusses most interestingly wha these differences really are.

77 Professor Sheldon adds The was hardly audible, but was not lost to the consciousness of the speaker."

78 In these two dialects the *i* is as in French long and "narrow;" the dialect vowels ĩ, *ȍ* and *ũ*, which are not French, may be due partly to the influence of speaking English.

79 Cf. phrase no. 22 for another form of the indefinite feminine article and see the note no. 36.

80 See phrase no. 10 for another feminine form.

81 Analogy of the forms so common where a *z* is heard; cf. note 23 to phrase no. 13.

82 These forms are due to false analogy just as the "*cuirs et velours*" in ordinary French are.

W.: ;en bèl fàm =une belle[83] femme. See phrase no. 31, note 47.

67. C.: ȍn bèl fàm=une belle[83] femme.
CC.: ȍn bèl fàm= " " "

W.: lȍ̃ è krȍ̃z=the water is deep=l'eau est creuse.

68. C.: lȍ̃ é krȍ̃z=l'eau est creuse.[84]
CC.: lȍ̃ è krȍ̃z= " " "

W.: ȍn[85] æ fæ̃=un enfant.

69. C.: æ̃n æ fæ̃[86]=" "
CC.: æ̃n æ̃ fæ̃[86]=" "

W.: sèz[42]ȍmlå sȍ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.

70. C.: séz[42]ȍmlå sȍ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.
CC.: séz[42]umlå sȍ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.

W.: sȍnè=son nez.

71. C.: sȍné=son nez.
CC.: sȍné= " "

W.: la pli=la pluie.

72. C.: là püi[87]=la pluie.
CC.: là püi[87]=" "

W.: sèz yȍ̃[88]=ses yeux. Cf. no. 37.

73. C.: séz yȍ̃= " "
CC.: séz yȍ= " "

W.: pȍrt=porte.

74. C.: pȍrt[89]= "
CC.: pȍrt[89]= "

W.: nu=nous.

75. C.: nu=nous, but not as subject for which ȍ=Fr. *on* with third pers. sing. is used.

CC.: nu=nous, but not as subject for which ž or žə=Fr. *je* with the verb in the first pers. plural.

W.: twè[90]=toi. Cf. no. 14.

76. C.: twà[90, 91]=toi.
CC.: twà[90, 91]= "

W.: vu=vous. Cf. no. 92.

77. C.: vu[91]="
CC.: vu[91]="

W.: våtæ̃ (or vȍ=?)=va-t'en.

78. C.: v[8]åtæ̃[86]= "
CC.: v[8]åtæ̃[86]= "

W.: tædbæ̃=perhaps=peut-être bien. The *d* was not very distinct.

79. C.: ptètbæ̃[94] and tèt bæ̃=peut-être bien. Cf. Passy's tsé pa =Fr. *je ne sais pas*. *Étude*, p. 123.
CC.: tèt bæ̃=peut-être bien.

W.: savapa bæ̃=ça (ne[92]) va pas bien.

80. C.: så vå på bæ̃[94]=ça (ne[92]) va pas bien.
CC.: så vå på bæ̃= " " " " "

W.: bókubæ̃=beaucoup bien.

81. C.: [93]bukubæ̃[94]=" "
CC.: bókubæ̃[94]= " "

W.: sàvȍ=savon (probably).

82. C.: sàvȍ[95]="
CC.: sàvo[95]="

83 A form corresponding to Fr. *gentille*, I have not found in use in any of the localities I have studied.

84 A form corresponding to Fr. *profonde* is not in use.

85 For other forms of the indefinite masculine article, see phrase no. 25 and also note 40.

86 The dialect form for Fr. *an* or *en* is nearer *æ̃* than *ã*; as a rule it appears to me to be *æ̃*. Cf. phrase no. 27 and see note 42.

87 The *l* of Fr. *pluie* is completely lost; parallel with this is dialect *pü*—Fr. *plus*.; cf. kȍ̃kü in phrase no. 17.

88 See the comment on dialect *ds*—Fr. *y* in note 54 referring to this phrase, no. 73.

89 The *o* is the same here as in French; a noticeable feature, however, of these two dialects is that in words where the *r* is final or followed by a silent consonant, the dialect *o* is then *not* the Fr. *o* in the French word *or*, that is, mid-back-wide-round, but mid-back-narrow-round as in Fr. *beau*; thus, dialect *tȍr*—Fr. *tort*, sounds exactly like Eng. *tore* (the past of *to tear*).

90 Cf. again in regard to dialect *wè* and *wà* the *Remark* under note 103 of Paper no. 1—(referred to before in notes 16 and 26 of this paper). *twi* is heard a good deal,—see the note no. 91 below, where a remark by the school teacher, Mlle. Allard, gives an idea of the difference in usage of *twi* and *vu* as observed by her.

91 Mlle. Allard says: "Les Canadiens se tutoient plus que les Acadiens. En général, les parents canadiens se font tutoyer par leurs enfants, ce qui est très-rare chez les Acadiens. Les Acadiens du Nouveau Brunswick, de la Nouvelle Ecosse et du Cap-Breton se tutoient généralement, excepté l'époux et l'épouse qui, quoique se tutoyant avant leur mariage se disent *vous* lorsqu'ils sont mariés."

92 Just as a form corresponding to Fr. *ne* is lacking in the dialects, so *ne* itself is disappearing in popular French.

93 The form *buku* is apparently due to the influence of the last syllable on the first. It generally replaces Fr. *très* before an adjective; for example, *buku bȍn*—Fr. *beaucoup bonne*, that is, *très-bonne*.

94 *bæ̃* is the form in use for the Fr. adverb *bien*; *biã*, *biæ̃* (see note 72)—Fr. *bien* in the sense of the noun, *goods* or *property*.

95 As remarked in note 86, dialect *æ̃* to my ear as a rule represented Fr. *an* or *en*; so, too, the dialect form for Fr. *on* sounded like *ã* or *æ̃*, difficult to distinguish which; cf. the Parisian pronunciation of Fr. *an* or *en* with Fr. *on*.

W.: livü=I saw him *and also* I saw her=?

83. C.:[96] =

CC.: zlvü[97]=je levis.

W.: à vå vnir=she is going to come=elle va venir.

84. C.: à vå[98] mnir=elle va venir.

CC.: à vå vnir= " " "

W.: la vlå[99] (sometimes nearly vla[99]) ki vyæ=la voilà qui vient. [50](For exception to tš=Fr. *k*.)

85. C.: làvl..[99] ki vyæ*=la voilà qui vient.

CC.: lá vlå[99] tši vyæ*=" " " "

W.: i[57] dèn=he is giving=il donne. See no. 12.

86. C.: i[57] dǒn=il donne.

CC.: i[57] dun=" "

W.: i ètaprèdèné=il est après donner. See. no. 13.

87. C.: i (or) il é àprè dǒné.

CC.: A like form of expression not in use.

W.: fó[99] kə lièzǒt tüt dədlà (*kə* or a very short *kè*, *l* in *lièz* very faint, *də* or *dè* with very short *ə*)=I must take them all out of there=faut que (je? les?) ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

88. C.: fó[99] kə žléz ót tud də là=faut que je les ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

CC.: fó[99] kə ż léz ut tu də là=faut que je les ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

W.: té[100] fu (not *fè*—; but cf. no 91.)=you are a fool=tu es fou.

89. C.: té[100] fu=tu es fou.

CC.: tè[100] fu=" " "

W.: [100]té fol=tu es folle.

90. C.: [100]té fǒl=" " "

CC.: [100]tè fǒl=" " "

W.: tè[101]tǒfü=you are a fool=tu es un fou.

91. C.: té æ fu[40, 15]=tu es un fou.

CC.: tè æ fu[40, 15]=" " " "

W.: vuzètfu=vous êtes fou.

92. C.: vuzètfu= " " "

CC.: vuzètfu= " " "

W.: téfü kòm æ mäš a balèt[102]=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

93. C.: té fu kòm æ mäš (mäḥ) a balè=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

CC.: tè fu kòm æ mäš a balè=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

W.: i fè frèt[34]=it is cold=il fait froid.

94. C.: i[57] fè frèt[34]=it is cold=il fait froid.

CC.: i[57] fè frèt[34]=" " " " " " "

W.: i fè šó=it is warm=il fait chaud.

95. C.: i[57] fè šó=il fait chaud.

CC.: i[57] fè šó=" " "

W.: i bwè[16]=he is drinking=il boit.

96. C.: i bwà[16]=il boit.

CC.: i bwà[16]=" "

W.: truvé=to find=trouver.

97. C.: truvé=trouver.

CC.: truvé= "

W.: ma[60] vå ékrir= I am going to write=moi vais écrire.

98. C.: z[103] må ékrir=je vais écrire.

CC.: ż vå ékrir= " " "

W.: sòn étàb è grād=his stable is large. Cf. no. 10; son étable est grande.

99. C.: sõn étàb[104] é grād=son étable est grande.

CC.: sõn étàb è grād=son étable est grande.

W.: la lwè[16]=the law, la loi.

100. C.: là lwà[16]=la loi.

CC.: là lwà[16]=" "

96 An exact equivalent to the CC. *ż l vü*—Fr. *je le vis* is lacking as there is no preterite tense in the dialect.

97 Evidently analogy of the past participle.

98 Influence of the *n* in nasalizing the Fr. *v* so that the sound is as written *mnir*. Cf. Passy's *amnu*—Fr. *avenue* and *rə-mni: r*—Fr. *revenir*. *Étude*, §434.

* Conjugated with *àwir*—Fr. *avoir*.

99 Cf. with examples from popular French given by Passy in his *Étude*, §271.

100 Popular French, Beyer und Passy, §92.

101 Analogy of forms where a *t* may be heard, as in the third pers. sing. See note 23.

102 In lists of words where a final *t* is sounded in the dialects representing words where in French under like conditions no *t* is heard, my notes go to show that the feature is more common in Canadian than in Acadian French; see note no. 59, Paper No. I. Professor Squair records the Ste. Anne pronunciation of Fr. *balai*, no. 4 in list (5) of his *Contribution*, which if I might interpret it phonetically would be about like *balæ* or *balə*.

103 *mà*—Fr. *va* here seems to be used on the analogy of such expressions as no. 44: *ż mà b..lie*=Fr. *je vais balier*, in which the *m* can be accounted for as in note 64.

104 Both *grād* (*grad*) and *étàb* are in use; there is however no form corresponding to Fr. *demeure*.

W.: æ̃ pyé*=a foot, un pied.
101. C.: æ̃ pyé=un pied.
CC.: æ̃ pyé=" "

W.: ŏ̃ pŏ̃dzòm=some men=un peu des hommes.
102. C.: æ̃ pŏ̃dòm (rare); kèkòm / kyökòm (far commoner)=quelques hommes.
CC.: æ̃ pŏ̃ dum=un peu d'hommes.

W.: pupwå=father=papa.
103. C.: pàpå=papa.
CC.: pəpå[105]=papa.

W.: lè[42] mŏ̃bl=walls of the room (?)=les meubles.
104. C.: lé[42] mŏ̃b=les meubles.
CC.: lé[42] mŏ̃b=" "

W.: nwẽr[16]=black=noir.
105. C.: nwèr[16]=noir.
CC.: nwèr[16]= "

W.: æn[36] mèzõ=a house=une maison.
106. C.: ŏn mèzõ=une maison,
CC.: ŏn mèzõ= " "

W.: æn[36]éšèl=a ladder=une échelle.
107. C.: ŏnéšèl=une échelle.
CC.: ŏnéšèl= " "

W.: æn[36] plæs (*or* plàs?)=a place=une place.
108. C.: ŏn plàs[62]=une place.
CC.: ŏn plàs= " "

W.: lŏn (with a short vowel)=moon=lune.
109. C.: lün=lune (the *ü* is very short†) and the effect similar to *lŏn*.
CC.: lün=lune (the *ü* is very short†) and the effect similar to *lŏn*.

W.: sa vwè=his voice=sa voix.
110. C.: sà wa[106]=sa voix.
CC.: sà wå[106]= " "

W.: æ̃ šyæ̃=a dog=un chien.
111. C.: æ̃ syã[72] and šyæ̃=un chien.

CC.: æ̃ šyã[72]= " "

W.; æ̃ ša (or rather šå)=a cat=un chat.
112. C.: æ̃ šå[107]=un chat.
CC.: æ̃ šå[107]= " "

W.: dè šå=des chats.
113. C.: dé[42] šå=" "
CC.: dé[42] žå=" "

W.: æ̃ rwè
114. C.: æ̃ rwa.[108]
CC.: æ̃ rwå.

W.: æn rẽn=a queen=une reine.
115. C.: ŏn rẽn=une reine.
CC.: ŏn rẽn= " "

W.: æn wèzó=a bird=un oiseau.
116. C.: æ̃ wézó[109]=un oiseau.
CC.: æ̃ ŏzó[109]= " "

W.: æ̃šmæ̃=a road=un chemin.
117. C.: æ̃šmã[110] and šmæ̃=un chemin.
CC.: æ̃šmã[110] " šmæ̃= " "

W.: æ̃ (or ẽ) kanòt[102]=a boat=un canot.
118. C.: æ̃ kànó=un canot.
CC.: æ̃ kànó= " "

W.: flŏ̃r=fleur.
119. C.: flŏ̃r[111]=fleur.
CC.: flŏ̃r= "

The cardinal numerals 1–20, 100;

W.: æ̃, dŏ̃, twå, kat (katz[81]òm=Fr. quatre hommes), sæ̃k, sis, sèt, üit,

* As in no. 51 dialect pidzi represents Fr. *pays*, a form *pdžé* might be looked for representing Fr. *pied*. Cf. also phrases nos. 133 and 134 where one might rather look for *fidš* than *fig*.

105 Weakening of the vowel of the unaccented syllable; see Passy, *Étude*, §313.

† Corblet in his *Glossaire Picard* gives *leune* on *léne*.

106 This is merely a bilabial for a lip-tooth consonant; cf. phrase no. 8; a pronunciation which occurs also in popular French as mentioned in note no. 94 of Paper No. I.

107 Feminine *ŏn šat*—Fr. *une chatte*.

108 As a rule in Carleton as in Cheticamp, a final French *a* is represented in the dialect by *å*. For Carleton, in the following words both *a* (*a* rather than *ɑ*) and *å* are heard, *a* by the young and *å* by the old: *trwa* and *trwå*—Fr. *trois*; *bwa* and *bwå*—Fr. *bois*, Eng. *wood*; *mwa* and *mwå*—Fr. *mois*, Eng. *month*; *pwa* and *pwå*—Fr. *pois*, Eng. *pea*; *pwa* and *pwå*—Fr. *poids*, Eng. *weight*. Most other dialect words with the ending corresponding to Fr. *oi*, like *mwa*—Fr. *moi* and *twa*—Fr. *toi*, have, as a rule, only *a*. This points to something similar to what Beyer in his *Französische Phonetik*, p. 20, comments on; that is, that the modern tendency in popular French is to bring open and closed *a* together.

109 In Carleton and Cheticamp the rule is that *wè* corresponds to Fr. *oi*, when the *oi* is not final. There are, however, a few cases of *wé* instead of *wè* as in Carleton *wéz*, while Cheticamp *ézó*—Fr. *oiseau* is irregular. See the *Remark* † under note no. 103, Paper No. I.

110 Cf. note 72. I recorded a number of cases of dialect *ã*—Fr. *in*, but could establish no exact rule.

111 *flŏ̃r* is used continually for a form corresponding to Fr. *farine*, Eng. *flour* and in this sense appears to be an Anglicism. In Carleton and Cheticamp the dialect ending corresponding to Fr. *-eur* is apt to be closed, that is, the *ŏ* in Fr. *peu* rather than the *ò* in Fr. *peur*.

nöff, dži̇s, ōz, dūz, trè[1]z, katòrz. tšẽz (not tšæz), sè[1]z, dži̇sèt, dzizüit, dži̇znöff, væ̃; sā, (or perhaps better sæ̃).

C.: ō̃, æ̃, dö(z),[112] trwa(z), trwā(z), kàt(r)(z[81]), sæ̃(z[81]), sæ̃k, si(z), sis, sè(z[81]), sèt, üi(z[81])(t), üit, nō(z[81])(v), nōf, di(z), dis, ōz, duz, tréz, trèz, kàtòrz, kyæ̃z, sèz, di sè(z[81]), di sèt, dizüi(z[81])(t), dizüit, diznō(z[81])(v), diznōf, væ̃(z[81])(t) sæ̃(z) (but sæ̃ ō̃ or æ̃).

CC.: ō̃, æ̃, yōn, dō(z[112])dōs, trwa(z), trwas, kàt(z), sæ(k); si(z), sis, sè(z), sèt, üi(z), uĭt, nö(z), nöf, di(z), dis, ōz, duz, trèz, kàtòrz, tšæ̃z, sèz, disè(z), disèt, dizüi(z), dizüĭt, diznö(z), diznöf, væ̃(z)(t), sæ̃(z).

SUPPLEMENT.*

W.: zé[113] bæ̃dz ami=I have many friends [=j'ai bien des amis].

121. C.: žé bæ̃[94] déz àmi=j'ai bien des amis.

CC.: zé bæ̃ déz àmi= " " " "

W.: han é tšö·kö=I have some [=j'en ai quelqu(es) uns. I doubt the correctness of the accent, and think the last letter should be ō̃].

122. C.: žānékōkō̃=j'en ai quelqu(es) uns.

CC.: žānétsōkō̃= " " " " "

W.: han é débā=I have some stockings [=j'en ai des bas].

123. C.: zé dé bā=j'ai des bas; (not said as above in Waterville with *an* or *ā*= Fr. *en*).

CC.: žé dé bā=j'ai des bas; (not said as above in Waterville with *an* or *ā*= Fr. *en*.)

W.: hé[113] dé kutó=I have some knives [=j'ai des couteaux].

124. C.: žé (ḥé) dé kutó=j'ai des couteaux.

CC.: žé dè kutó= " " "

W.: hané=I have some [=j'en ai].

125. C.: žānéi[112]=j'en ai.

CC.: žāné= " "

W.: žé[113] tā šæpó=I have many hats [=j'ai tant de chapeaux].

126. C.: žé tā dsæpó=j'ai tant de chapeaux (not said without *d* or *dz*).

CC.: zé tā dšæpó=j'ai tant de chapeaux (not said without *d* or *dz*).

W.: hé[113] šó=I am warm [=j'ai chaud].

127. C.: žé (hé) (ḥé) šó=j'ai chaud.

CC.: žé šó.

W.: héswì=I am thirsty [=j'ai soif. The sign ì=English *i* in (*hit*), (*pin*), etc.].

128. C.: zé (hé) ḥé[16] swèf.

CC.: zé[16] swèf.

W.: hé[113] fā=I am hungry=j'ai faim.

129. C.: žé (hé) ḥé fā [110, 72] (rather than fæ̃).

CC.; žé fā[110, 72] (fæ̃).

W.: pupā é[114] bā=papa is good [=papa est bon].

130. C.: pàpā é bō=papa est bon.

CC.: pəpā[105] è bō=" " "

W.: pupā é[114] grā=papa is tall [=papa est grand].

131. C.: pàpā é grā=papa est grand.

CC.: pəpā[105] è grā=" " "

W.: mā gæ·sā[114] éptši=my son is small [=mon garçon est petit].

132. C.: mō gærsō é pti[49]=mon garçon est petit.

CC.: mō gærsō è pti[49]=mon garçon est petit.

W.: ma fig[115] é bèl=my daughter is handsome [=ma fille est belle].

133. C.: mà fiy é bèl=ma fille est belle.

CC.: mà fiy è bèl= " " " "

112 The forms enclosed in parentheses are heard before vowels; those ending in a vowel before consonants, or when there is no form ending in a consonant, as final as in *dz*, *trwa*; those ending in a consonant may appear as final or where that is the only form as in *duz*, *trez*, etc., before both vowels and consonants. The form for Fr. *cent* is hardly distinguishable from that for Fr. *cinq* when before consonants.

* Professor Sheldon continues: "As a supplement I can now add some additional specimens taken from the pronunciation of M. J. (–dž), the mother of L. L. and written in a phonetic spelling essentially the same as that employed above. They were written at my suggestion by an inexperienced observer not familiar with spoken French. He writes *ō* for both *ō̃* and *ō*. I add in brackets remarks of my own.—M. J. was born in Cornville, Maine, cannot read nor write, is forty-nine years old, has always lived in Maine, except a year and a half in Canada after being married."

113 Cf. this *é*=Fr. *ai* with that recorded in nos. 4 and 5, 6 and 7, (which is *e*).

114 Cf. this *é*=Fr. *est* with that recorded in nos. 1, 2, 50, 87 and 99.

W.: nó fig[115] vièn=our daughters are coming [=nos filles viennent].

134. C.: nó fiy vièn=nos filles viennent.

CC.: nú fiy vənõ[116]=nos filles viennent.

W.: mu·ma lævyu dö gró·rå=mamma saw two big rats (gró·rå in her dialect means either rats or big rats) [=mamam? deux gros rats. I doubt the correctness of the accent in mu·ma, and the last letter in the same word should perhaps be *ä*. In *lævyu*, I think *yu* should be *ü*].

135. C.: məmä å vü dő gro rå (Cf., however, note 60)=maman a vu deux gros rats.

CC.: məmä å vü dő gró rå=maman a vu deux gros rats.

W.: "'Father' in her dialect is the same as in standard French, or perhaps the first *e* is pronounced more like *ie* in the modern French '*pierre*.'

136. C.: pér=père.

CC.: pér= "

W.: "I don't think I have given all the various ways for 'I have' in the dialect. I will not say positively, but . . . . . it seems as if she said something like *šfé* or *hwfé* for 'I have.'"

137. C.: žé, hé ḥé.

CC.: žé.

### Results of the Comparison.

Thus far in the present paper certain facts regarding the popular speech—particularly the phonology—in three localities very far apart from each other have been put on record. In Paper No. I, similar facts in regard to a fourth locality, Sainte Anne de Beaupré, examined by Professor Squair of Toronto University, were brought to light. That certain conclusions be drawn from the results compared is reasonably to be expected. They may not prove at all proportional to the work of investigation, like much scientific research, but the scientist would be the last to disparage such investigation on that account.

Perhaps by any one interested enough to desire to know what the dialects are that are spoken in America, the question may now very naturally be asked at once: Is the dialect examined by Professor Sheldon an Acadian French or a Canadian French dialect? This question presupposes that "Acadian French" is one thing and "Canadian French" another, and if such be the case, the question can be answered by showing to what extent certain forms in the Waterville dialect are Acadian, or Canadian, or something else.

In Paper No. I, I have shown that the same provinces of France furnished contingents for both Acadia and Canada, and that one of these regions was the neighborhood of Paris, which by reason of its political preponderance had in almost every way, as well as linguistically, exerted more influence upon the surrounding regions than any one of them could upon it or *upon each other*. Take, for instance, as a concrete example, the dialect form ž sü=Fr. *je suis*. Because this form belongs to Champagne,[117] or is a common Burgundian[117] one, hardly signifies that its appearance in Canada is to be directly traced to either of those provinces, for the form is a common one to the region of Paris,—though it may have come there from another province. Just so with a number of widely spread pronunciations. Thus again dialect à=Fr. *e* before *r* plus a pronounced consonant as in vàrt=Fr. *verte*; the French dialect dictionaries show this pronunciation to be the usual one in a number of provinces, and Thurot[118] illustrates repeatedly its use both in the provinces and about Paris from very early times. The same is true of the sound å often called the "Norman *a*," and so characteristic of many French provinces and of perhaps all Acadian or Canadian French. Likewise the forms of the personal pronouns àl or à=Fr. *elle* and of *i* or *iz*=Fr. *il* or *ils* are identical in a number of regions both in France and in the Dominion of Canada. So are the sounds wé or wè representing Fr. *oi* under certain conditions. The pronunciation -à or -æ representing the Fr. *-ais* as in dialect àvà=Fr. *avais*, movà=Fr. *mauvais*, also so characteristic of Canadian French, mostly in endings, as in the two examples (but which as yet I have not met in Acadian regions), is common to

115 Cf. with nos. 35, 36, 37 and 38 where Fr. *y* (consonant) —dialect *dž*. See also the * under note 105.

116 What is said in the important note 41 applies to this case.

117 *Étude sur le langage populaire de Paris*, Ch. Nisard, p. 227.

118 Tome I, pp. 4-15. See also note no. 77, Paper No. 1.

Poitou as well as to the region about Paris.[119] So, too, the pronunciation ór=Fr. *or* final or followed by silent consonants, as in dialect fór=Fr. *fort*, kór=Fr. *corps*, etc., is common to several regions[120] besides that of Paris.[120] Also é=Fr. *è* in words like dialect frér=Fr. *frère*, mér=Fr. *mère* and pér[121]=Fr. *père*. And ü=Fr. *eu*, as in üžèn=Fr. *Eugène*.[122]

One can easily show a similar condition of things to a certain extent to be true of the consonants,—going to show together with the vowel indications, that the French of the region about Paris of two hundred and fifty years ago is the basis of both Acadian and Canadian French.[122 (bis)] We come, then, naturally to consider the question of what distinguishes Acadian from Canadian French, and here the similarities in nature and extent are such that an idea of them may perhaps best be obtained by supposing a question somewhat parallel to this to be asked: How does American English differ from the English spoken in England? There might well be quite as many different attempts to characterize the English spoken in England as that spoken in America in making such a discrimination, and hence the difficulty of obtaining sufficiently adequate results. Just so with Acadian and Canadian French. After traveling through French Canada and Acadia and observing carefully the popular speech, the same conclusion can hardly fail to present itself naturally to the observer as after having traveled through England and America,—that is, just as the language heard in the latter two countries is essentially one tongue with more or less variation according to locality, so too the language of Acadia and of Canada is one and the same with like local variations. Owing to the vastness of the region and these local variations throughout the territory, the obstacles to making a general comparison become obvious at once.

As an example of what has been done in a somewhat general way, take the interesting articles that have appeared by the Acadian or Canadian writers[123] themselves in regard to the French of Acadian or Canadian regions in general, in the Dominion of Canada. Undoubtedly their remarks are true for the regions they are familiar with and characterize. But if the impression were received from their observations that such characteristics as they describe were heard either throughout Acadia or Canada, as the case may be, this impression might be found in many localities to fall short realization. M. Pascal Poirier has written an article "La Langue Acadienne"[124] in which "l'idiome que parlent les Acadiens" is portrayed, and there are pointed out among the differences between "la prononciation acadienne et la prononciation canadienne" three characteristic traits; namely, 1. dialect u=Fr. *o* before *m* or *n* not nasal as in um=Fr. *homme;* 2. "Il y a aussi une différence notable entre la prononciation acadienne et la prononciation canadienne des lettres *gu*, *qu*, *di*, *tu* suivies d'une voyelle. Parmi le peuple du Canada la prononciation de ces mots est indécise. Elle prend souvent une forme dure, *cuyau* pour *tuyau*, *le bon Yeu* pour *le bon Dieu*, *ti* pour *qui*, *un yueux* ou quelquechose d'approchant pour *un gueux*. Dans mon pays, la prononciation de ces mots s'adoucit à la manière italienne et romane: *qui* se prononce *tchi* comme le *ci* italien dans *cicerone* et le *ch* anglais *chip*. Le *gu* de *gueux* se prononce comme le *g* anglais dans *gin*.." 3. "De plus les formes *j'ons*[125] et le *j'avons*[125] se sont conservés dans plusieurs centres acadiens."

After reading this article, I visited Tragadiegetche, peopled by Acadians from Tracadie, and now called Carleton.[126] To be sure there is nothing in M. Poirier's article that states that those particular characteristics just mentioned are, or are not, found in any one

119 See note 56, Paper No. I, and also Nisard's *Étude*, pp. 165-6.

120 See Jaubert's *Glossaire*, under, *o;* also Agnel's *Observations*, under *o*, p. 16.

121 *Id.*, p. 12, and the dialect dictionaries.

122 Agnel's *Observations*, p. 11.

122 (*bis*) See Paper No. I, p. 20, last paragraph and Thurot, tome i. pp. 521-2.

123 The names of six well-known writers appear in the list of references to Paper No. I, and the most complete list of those treating the subject that I know of appeared in Part ii of *Dialect Notes*, pp. 53-56, by Professor Chamberlain, of Clark University.

124 *Nouvelles Soirées Acadiennes*, Vol. iii, p. 63.

125 For xvi. century usage of such forms see Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's xvi. *Siècle en France*, Syntaxe, p. 273, § 218; for usage about Paris, Agnel's *Observations*, p. 73. Perhaps the best light in brief is thrown by Meyer-Lübke (Tome ii of French translation of the *Grammaire*, p. 109) "... alors, pour obtenir la symétrie entre la Ire pers. sing. et la Ire pers. plur., *nu* cède la place à *je*."

126 In *Soirées Canadiennes* for 1861 is an article: "Journal d'un voyage sur les côtes de la Gaspésie" which gives an idea of Carleton as well as of the other towns about the bay.

Acadian region more than in another. But it would not, however, be unnatural, so it seemed to me, to look for them in Tracadiegetche. Yet the result of such a search was that those three particular characteristics were found to be all wanting: for in the first case the dialect and standard French agreed; in the second case the dialect equivalent for Fr. *gu* and *di* before front vowels=*y*, as in dialect yö=Fr. *gueux* and yiàmæ̃=Fr. *diamant;* Fr. *qu*+a vowel was represented by *ky* as in dialect kyèl=Fr. *quel* and the Fr. *tu*+vowel was identical with French. The third characteristic to be found in several Acadian centres, that is, the forms in *ð* or *ðz*[127] with the first person singular pronoun, was not in popular use, the usage being like that in many Canadian districts where the indefinite dialect pronoun ð=(Fr. *on*) is continually used to correspond to the Fr. *nous* with the first person plural.[127] I am very much inclined to believe, to be sure, that the above dialect features such as I found and recorded them in Tracadiegetche are due largely to Canadian influence; yet this is a genuine Acadian settlement.[126] Moreover, by taking notes farther along the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, particularly at Bonaventure and at Pasbébiac, I became certain that what I had observed as characteristic of the speech traits of old Tracadiegetche, or Carleton, were common features to a considerable extent in the other localities examined. Yet they all presented dialect differences, and hence the inevitable liability of inaccuracy in endeavoring to make a general statement for the speech of the region as a whole.

After taking observations about the Baie des Chaleurs, I visited the remote and somewhat isolated Acadian settlement in the northwest corner of Cape Breton, Cheticamp; and if, on the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, some of my anticipations in regard to dialect features I believed likely to be found there, failed to be realized, in Cheticamp, on the other hand, I was impressed with the accuracy of M. Poirier's observations, each one of which appeared exact for the dialect. Such practical experience with the popular speech may serve to illustrate what I should like particularly to point out in this connection,—something, too, which M. Gaston Paris has dwelt upon in his introduction to *Les Parlers de France*, where, after showing how rarely the speech limits of one locality coincide with those of another, he adds:

"Il suit de là que tout le travail qu'on a dépensé, et ce qu'on appelle des 'Sous-dialectes' est un travail à peu près complètement perdu."[128]

To obtain results as accurate as possible, the region whose linguistic features are to be put on record, must be divided into a multitude of small sections, and the phonology and morphology of each carefully examined and noted. For this purpose it is that the *Société des Parlers de France* has been started. It is with similar methods and aims that the *American Dialect Society* is now at work, and it is in this way that the study of the French spoken in Canada must be investigated in order to ensure trustworthy results,—and in order that one may characterize as nearly as possible what such features as Professor Sheldon has brought to light in the Waterville dialect may, or may not, belong to.

Until such work has been done in the separate sections, it will be hazardous to pronounce any one feature of a particular dialect as characterizing the dialect as one thing rather than another,—say Acadian than Canadian. M. Rameau de Saint-Père, who made quite a thorough study of the regions inhabited by the Acadians and of the people themselves, by personal contact with them in traveling through their Country, has divided them with regard to locality into eight distinct groups.[129] As this division seems to me valuable in that it furnishes something tangible for speech investigation and further subdivision, it may not be untimely in this connection and in the interest of dialect research to recall his brief summary:

". . . les Acadiens présentent encore aujourd'hui huit groupes, séparés par des intervalles

127 Cf. Meyer-Lübke's *Observations* already referred to in note 41; again in speaking of *ʒe ʒãtõ; j'allons; j'en soyons*, he goes on to add (bottom of page) . . "et de nos jours il semble régner dans tous les parlers du Nord de la France, le picard seul excepté. Ce dernier présente *ð* ou *oz*, qui doit s'expliquer par une confusion de *homo cantat* et de *nos cantamus* . . ." p. 109 of tome ii of *Grammaire* (French translation).

128 July 1893, no. i, p. 4 (bottom).

129 *Une colonie féodale*, tome ii, p. 249.

de 80 à 400 kilomètres. 1°. Les paroisses de la baie Sainte-Marie, et de la baie de Tousquet. 2°. Celle de l'isthme de Shediak. 3°. Le groupe de la baie des Chaleurs et du golfe Saint-Laurent. 4°. Le détroit de Canseau et le sud du cap Breton. 5°. La paroisse isolée mais importante de Chéticamp et quelques dépendances au nord du Cap Breton. 6°. Le petit groupe de Chezetcook près d'Halifax. 7°. L'île du Prince-Edouard, ci-devant île Saint-Jean. 8°. Enfin le pays de Madawaska, au nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick."

According to M. Rameau de Saint-Père's statistics for 1880, the total Acadian population then numbered 108,605.

Of these districts, I have myself examined a part of no. 3 and a part of no. 5. I have also observed on the spot the language in and around Québec, as well as that of some of the rural districts a few miles away, and read whatever I have been able to find in regard to dialect research in Canada.[123] My opinions, if I venture any, must, therefore, necessarily be limited by my data, and in any case can only have the worth of deductions drawn from insufficient data. Such being the conditions, therefore, what may be inferred in regard to the *Specimens* recorded by Professor Sheldon?

1° In the first place, taking up the sound noted by *h* equivalent to Fr. ž, and which I have written ḥ, Professor Sheldon says: "This aspirate is one of the most characteristic features of the dialect." My notes, as well as the data from other sources on the subject, show the sound to be common to many Canadian as well as Acadian regions. In such works as those of Agnel[130] and Nisard,[130] describing the popular speech of the region about Paris, I do not find such a sound noted. This, however, does not incline me to believe that it is entirely absent in such localities; for Thurot, under the chapter on *h*, says:[131] "L'aspiration permute avec le *c*, le *g*, le *ch*, le *y* et peut-être l'*f*;" then follow the examples with dates and references. The evidence, however, is not sufficient in my judgment, to establish the fact of this sound being a *characteristic* one of Île-de-France French.—As Professor Sheldon says:—"In general the forms point to ordinary French words and may be directly compared with them." He has himself, however, suggested the possibility of this particular feature belonging to the province of Saintonge rather than to the Île-de-France, and the evidence seems to warrant such a conclusion. Therefore, any one particular trait, such as this, not pointing as most of the features do to the old popular Parisian French, is especially interesting, because of the comparative rarity of features indicating any other origin than the standard old popular French of the region about Paris.

2°. Next tš=Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel. Here the Waterville and Cheticamp dialects agree, and here again appears to be something which does not indicate Parisian French origin; for such a pronunciation is not spoken of in works such as Thurot's, Nisard's and Agnel's, where if such a pronunciation were at all common it could hardly escape being put on record. Professor Sheldon himself says: "For tš=Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel, the Norman dialects offer many examples;" and besides this statement, as good proof of its provincial origin, the dialect student has but to turn to the words under *Q* in Jônain's dictionary; thus, for example, one finds: *quéqu'in*, voyez *Çheuqu'in; Queque* (Berri), voyez *Cheuque; Quinze*, voyez *Çhinze*, etc. I am inclined to believe this to be an Acadian feature, for I have not heard it as yet in Canadian districts, though it is very possible it may be heard in some localities there, just as in the Waterville district.

3°. tš=Fr. *t* followed by a front vowel. If the French vowel (usually *i*) be followed by another vowel as in Waterville mòtsé and Cheticamp mötšé=Fr. *moitié* (see phrase no. 30),—then in such like endings which are frequent, the two dialects agree. This feature is not one of those characteristic of the dialect about Paris[131 (bis)] and many neighboring provinces,[132] for such testify that Fr. *t* before a vowel (usually *i*)+another vowel is represented by *k* as in dialect šârkyé=Fr. *chartier;* and such is, as is well-known, the pronunciation in many places in Canada,[133]—also the Carleton form for such endings. Just what provinces or localities in France may have tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel followed by another vowel as in Fr.

130 See table of references for full titles, etc.

131 Tome ii, p. 418.

131 (*bis*) Agnel, *Observations*, under *t*, p. 28.

132 Talbert, *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 232.

133 Legendre, *Langue française*, p. 47.

*moitié*, I have not as yet been able to find out, but should like to know.[134]

4°. tš=Fr. *t* followed by a front vowel which is final as in ptši=Fr. *petit*, or followed by a consonant as in kriätšür=Fr. *créature*. In this case the Waterville and Cheticamp forms are not alike, for the Cheticamp and modern French forms agree in regard to the pronunciation of the last syllable in such words, while the Waterville form is nearly, if not entirely, identical with what I have noted about Quebec. This peculiarity, like the preceding, does not occur in the French about Paris. It is easy to understand so simple a sound-change arising in any popular dialect, compare the popular pronunciation of English *don't you;* for purposes of comparison it is of interest to know where among French dialects such a pronunciation, if heard, may prevail.

5°. dž=Fr. *y* (consonant). This interesting feature of the Waterville dialect I have not met with either in the dialects of France or in those of the Dominion of Canada that I have examined. Failing to find it noted in Île-de-France French, I can only conclude that the feature, if not developed in this country, must come from some one of the many local provincial dialects of France; and as in the case of the two preceding traits, I should much like to receive some more information about it.

6°. dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel. The cases given by Professor Sheldon džöl=Fr. *gueule* in no. 34, ænédžüidz=Fr. *une aiguille* and džirir and džiri=Fr. *guérir* and *guéri* are all cases of a vowel *plus* consonant. In such case the Waterville and Cheticamp forms are alike as regards the dž. I am interested to know what the dialect forms for Fr. words like *bague* and *naviguer* are where the *g* is a final sound,—for in the Cheticamp dialect the forms were as in French, that is bàg and nàvigé;[135] Cheticamp bàg is interesting as compared with the word heard in the same dialect bàdžèt=Fr. *baguette*. This feature dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel does not seem to me to be taken from old popular Parisian French where I do not find such a pronunciation noted. As is well-known, a pronunciation of frequent occurrence in many localities in Canada is dialect y=Fr. *g* followed by front vowel. This I have noted in Carleton and also around Quebec. Such a pronunciation may well have come originally from the province of Saintonge, for the statement is made in Jônain: "*gu* s'adoucit en *ye*" and the examples given are: anyille=Fr. *anguille;* yarre=Fr. *guerre* and yetter=Fr. *guetter*.[136]

7°. dz=Fr. *d* followed by *i* (or as in nos. 20 and 52 *u*). To illustrate this but two examples appear of Waterville specimens: mudži (módži)=Fr. *maudit*, where the *d* in French is followed by a final *i*, and in the expressions džü pidži=Fr. *du pays* and džübwâ=Fr. *du bois*, where the Fr. *u* is followed by a consonant. This feature is parallel then with no. 4° above: tš=Fr. *t* followed by final *i* as in ptši=Fr. *petit;* or=Fr. *t*+front vowel+consonant as in kriätšür=Fr. *créature* and like its parallel does not occur in the Cheticamp dialect which is identical with standard French in the pronunciation of such forms, but does occur like its parallel in and around Quebec and likewise, too, does not characterize the popular speech about Paris.[137]

8°. dž=Fr. *d*+front vowel (almost always *i*) +vowel. There is, I think, in the "Specimens," no example of a case of dialect dž=Fr. *d*+*i*+vowel. It seems not unnatural to suppose, however, that inasmuch as tš=Fr. *ti* before a vowel as shown in 3° above, so dž will represent Fr. *di* before a vowel, more especially, too, because such is the case in the Cheticamp dialect; one might, therefore, divine that the form for Fr. *dieu* in the Waterville dialect is probably dzö as in Cheticamp French. While

134 In a work like the *Patois Lorrains* by Lucien Adam, investigating more or less the speech of all the towns of the departments of la Meurthe, la Meuse, la Moselle and les Vosges, of which region Nancy might be considered the capital, traces here and there of many speech traits can be found. For instance, I find both in the vocabulary on p. 345 for Fr. *moitié:* *mètché* (Laneuvelotte); *mitché*, (Art-sur-Meurthe), mentioned also on p. 24 under § iv. But from such data I can only infer vaguely, and I think it is to just such work as this that M. Paris alludes in the *Parlers de France* (note 128). Both in phonology and morphology the speech of this northeast region of France lacks that homogeneity which characterizes, as far as I have observed, the French of the Dominion of Canada, and for that reason makes it impracticable to draw conclusions from the territory as a whole.

135 While my notes record *édžüi* for Fr. *aiguille*, right alongside also for Cheticamp I have *âgi*=Fr. *anguille*, which looks irregular compared with *édžüi*.

136 P. 20, introduction to the *Dictionnaire Saintongeais*.

137 On p. 344 of the *Patois Lorrains* appears, perhaps, an example of Fr. *di*=dialect *dž* in the word *maidji*=Fr. *mardi* (Laneuvelotte).

my belief is that such will be found to be the case, there is absolutely no means of *knowing* except by actually recording such examples. Dialect gy=Fr. *di*+a vowel is quite common in the neighborhood of Quebec and at the Falls of Montmorency, where I noted it.[138] Such a pronunciation is current in the popular speech about Paris.[139] Dialect y=Fr. *d* before *i*+ vowel (yåb=Fr. *diable*), I know, too, can be heard in Canadian localities.[138] Corblet, in his *Glossaire du Patois Picard*, gives several other dialect forms for Fr. *dieu*, writing the Savoy form *djeu*;[140] such a pronunciation of Fr. *dieu*, I have not found noted for the region of Paris.

The features of the Waterville dialect as brought out and illustrated by the examples under the three sections into which Professor Sheldon has divided them: I. *h*=Fr. ž; II. tš =Fr. *t* or *k* followed by a front vowel, and III. dž=Fr. *y* (consonant), *g* followed by a front vowel, and *d* followed by *i*, each of which I have just discussed, are, perhaps, phonetically the most interesting ones the dialect contains. All of the eight traits described differ from the great majority of the speech features found throughout Canada, in that they do not point directly back to the French about the region of Paris as their original starting place. And the primary significance of Professor Sheldon's paper is the suggestion contained therein that such may possibly be found to be actually the case with regard to some of the more striking features in the Waterville dialect.

Besides these traits just described, however, there are several other points brought out in the "Specimens" well worthy of more consideration, and which reveal features that as yet I have not met, or am but little acquainted with.

1°. èž for Fr. *je* as in examples 8, 12 and 13. This *è* preceding the consonant ž has the appearance of a glide, something similar to èl for Fr. *le*, as in phrase no. 28. Similar, if not identical, dialect forms given by Corblet for Fr. *je* are *ej* and *euj*.[141] In phrases nos. 83 and 88, it may not be superfluous to remark the omission entirely of a form corresponding to French *je*, though this may possibly be merely such a colloquial feature as Passy has noted for colloquial French; as, for example, tsé pa=Fr. (*Je ne*) *sais pas*.[142]

2°. The form *el*, (*èl*) for the definite article, as in phrase no. 28. As this is the only example among the "Specimens" it appears to me doubtful whether it be a genuine form and used with some regularity for the French masculine definite article as in Picard "el" for Fr. *le*,[143] or merely l=Fr. *le* pronounced with the vowel sound or glide, which will naturally precede the liquids *l* and *r*. Compare èž=Fr. *je* just commented on above.

3°. ma=Fr. *moi*, as in phrases nos. 44, 45 and 95, both in pronunciation and construction is curious.[144] The Canadian form about Quebec is *moè*, as in phrase no. 14, or oftener *moé*, while in the two Acadian dialects it is *mwa*. I have already commented on the syntax of this phrase in note no. 60.

4°. li vü in phrase no. 83="I saw him *and also* I saw her=?" For the omission of a form corresponding to French *je* see under 1°, just above. Apparently li=Fr. *le* and *la*+ verb (?), while in phrase no. 43: òli tüt aprèdèné skèdžâ="we are giving all, everything= on (lui?) tout après donner ce qu'il y a (?)," it appears to be for Fr. lui+verb (?). As stated in note no. 59, for Carleton the forms *y*, *gui* and *yi* represent the conjunctive Fr. *lui*, and my notes show these forms to be common to many regions. li=Fr. *lui*, or *le*, or *la* I have not as yet recorded. I find, however, in

138 Legendre, *Langue Française au Canada*, p. 47; also note 44, Paper No. I.

139 Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 200.

140 P. 371 under *diu et djiu*.

141 *Glossaire*, p. 103, § iv.

142 *Étude*, p. 123, § 271.

143 Corblet's *Glossaire* § 1, p. 98.

144 This *ma* appears to me a genuine dialect form preserved just as at present the same form is heard in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine (Bretagne). In the *Glossaire* of this department by Adolphe Orain are several specimens of the dialect in poetry. On p. 154, second stanza, first line of

"La Cressonnière" J'ly dis comme ça: "La belle,
J'veux pas rester garçon,"

Third stanza: "*Ma*, je veux rester," dit-elle
"Vieill' fille à la maison."

Tenth stanza: J'ly dis, dedans l'oreille,
Veux-tu de *ma*, Marion?

Besides *ma*—Fr. *moi* in these stanzas occurs the form *ly*= Fr. *lui*, which is of interest in connection with the next expression no. 4, *li vü*.

Corblet's dictionary[145] li=Fr. *lui*, and used also for the Fr. reflexive *se*.

5°. vü in phrase no. 83, in livü="I saw him *and also* I saw her=?" This verb-form by way of comparison is extremely interesting, for if identical with the Cheticamp form vü=Fr. *vis*, which I know to be a genuine preterite tense, it shows that the Waterville dialect has a preterite tense. In this respect the Carleton dialect is defective, no preterite tense being found in it. In this connection it is of interest to know whether the Waterville speech possesses a real future tense other than the forms expressing that idea with the verb àlé=Fr. *aller*, as in nos. 8, 9, 20, 44, 45, 46 and 49.

6°. fig, as in nos. 133 and 134, is an exception to Fr. *y*=Waterville dž. Cf. phrase no. 101 and the * note. I noted the same feature once at the Falls of Montmorency, nine miles from Quebec, where Fr. *aiguille* was pronounced édüig (perhaps édzüig or édžüig).[146] I suspect, therefore, more than one form for words like Fr. *fille* and *aiguille*; it would be of interest to find out if there is any particular locality where French *y* is represented regularly in such cases by *g*.

7°. In phrase no. 135, lævyu[147] or lævü, in the expression: mu'ma lævyu dö gró rå= "*mamma saw two big rats.*" The *l*[148] in lævyu or lævü looks like a dialect peculiarity. I have noted in Carleton such phrases as õ l làvè vü for Fr. *on l'avait vu* and M. Legendre notes *on l'était* and *on l'aimait mieux*; M. Legendre adds:

"Lorsque l'*l* s'y trouve déjà régulièrement,—soit comme lettre initiale du verb soit comme abréviation du pronom *le* ou *la*, on la double: *on l'l'aimait, on l'louangeait.*"

M. Charles Joret, Commenting on *non'* and *on* in Norman French, goes on to say that *l* develops precisely in the same way and under the same conditions; that is, before *l* followed by a mute *e*, which is elided: nol l di=*on le dit.*[148 (*bis*)] However, without more examples both in Waterville and in Norman French, I can at present only suspect the two traits to be parallel.

These last seven dialect features just pointed out appear to be more especially local than the dialect h, tš and dž previously pointed out by Professor Sheldon, and further discussed in the present paper under eight distinct heads. Indeed, as already shown, all the localities thus far examined show individual peculiarities, but both in phonology and morphology there are many common identical traits, so many, too, that are likewise common to popular spoken French, as to leave no reasonable doubt of the common origin of the dialects in the Dominion thus far examined. It seems to me now of use to make a table embracing the phonetical data that have so far been put on record for the French spoken throughout the Dominion of Canada and about the adjacent territory. Of course such a table represents no locality or dialect. It is purely a table of reference and merely indicates the *fact* that the particular sound found in the table has been put on record as belonging to some speech variety that can be heard in Canada, or the neighboring surrounding region. Undoubtedly many of these sounds are common to nearly, if not all, of the speech varieties; for example, I know of no dialect where the French back *a* is not regularly represented by dialect å. Anyone can easily look up a particular sound, the data on the subject not being as yet by any means too unwieldy so to do.

145 *Glossaire*, p. 104, and see *ly* in the stanzas in the preceding note. The following note on this expression I received from Professor Sheldon after writing the above on 4°: "As to my no. 83, *li vü*=I saw him and I saw her (both *him* and *her*, I think most likely were emphatic) my query (—?) means simply that I did not see how to give a word for word translation into literary French. I suspect, as I think I did when I wrote the paper for the *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, that the tense used is really the compound present, though I do not understand the vowel *i*, when *é* would be expected. Cf. also no. 43 *li*, where one looks for pronoun perhaps+*est* (Fr.). For this as a preterite cf. nos. 6, 17, 135."

146 Cf. Clapin's *aiduille* and *aiduillée*, p. xix of the Considérations générales to the *Dictionnaire*.

147 Cf. also note 60 on this expression.

148 This *l* has been noted by Legendre, p. 53 of *La langue française*, and also by Paul de Cazes on p. 126 of his article: *La langue que nous parlons*, section 1, 1887 of the *Mémoires de la société royale du Canada*.

148 (*bis*) *Romania* viii (1879), p. 102; Meyer-Lübke speaking of *nõ* in Normandie (*Grammaire* tome ii, p. 109) says: "Le point de départ de cette forme, étonnante à première vue, doit être *l'on*, surtout les verbes à initiale vocalique; *l-õ-n-ẽmẽ*." etc. This *l* in such expressions as *lævü, on l'aimait mieux*, etc., appears to me to be the *l* of Fr. *l'on* transposed by metathesis;—in *mu-ma lævü* analogy of, first, et *l'on avu* then et *on l'a vu*. Further references to Fleury and Behrens are given by Meyer-Lübke on p. 110, who treat of Norman *no*—Fr. *on*.

Any new sounds that any one may be interested to note and offer will be a welcome addition and will increase proportionately the value and completeness of the table for dialect investigation.

The parenthetical "Acadian regions," "Canadian regions," added to some of the sounds, is not to be taken categorically; it merely implies that the sound *is likely* to be found in the region designated (simply because it already has been in some such region), but does not imply that it may not be found in the other regions. Of the endless variety of linguistic phenomena occurring constantly, as well as sporadically, and due in a great measure, as are the variations in popular French from standard French—which variations to a very great extent are reproduced in these dialects—to well-known phonetical principles (assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, etc.), or to analogy, no account can here be taken, for the tabular scheme contemplates only those features which typify and are of *regular* occurrence, and because of their regularity give the speech its dialectic or local character. The table does not embrace *quantitative* distinctions; they are purely varieties in *quality* of sound. The Fr. equivalents indicate *sounds*.

TABLE No. I.

Phonological table of speech varieties known to occur with regularity in one or more of the French-speaking regions in and about the Dominion of Canada, illustrating *regularly-recurring variations* from standard French, with the French equivalents.

å=Fr. *â* or *a* in *pas*; a[149]=Fr. *a* in *pas*; à=Fr. *a* in *patte*; æ as in E. *hat*; é=Fr. *è* and *é*; è=Fr. *è* (in Fr. *ais* endings, etc. Acadian regions); ə=Fr. *e* in *de*; æ=Fr. *è* (Canadian regions); i=Fr. *i*; ĭ[150]=Fr. *i*; ó[151]=Fr. *â* or *a*; ó=Fr. *o* in *pot*; ó=Fr. *o* in *fort*; ŏ=Fr. *eu* in *peu*; ŏ[152]=Fr. *eu* in *peur*; ŏ=*u* in E. *but*; u=Fr. *o* before *m* or *n* not nasal (Acadian regions); ŭ=*u* in E. *pull*; ü=Fr. *ü*; wa=Fr. *oi* final (Acadian regions); wé=Fr. *oi* final (Canadian regions); wè=Fr. *oi* not final; wé=Fr. *oi* not final; æ̃=Fr. *un*; æ̃=Fr. *in*; æ̃=Fr. *en*; æ̃[153]=Fr. *on*; ã=Fr. *en*, *an*; ã[154]=Fr. *in*; ẽ=nasal of Fr. *è*.

For this purpose, the French consonants may most conveniently be divided into: 1. Stops; 2. Liquids; and 3. Continuants.

1. Of the French stops, *p* and *b* correspond with dialect *p* and *b* very generally in all positions. Although cases of the assimilation of voiced consonants to unvoiced and the like (for example, dialect àpsæ̃=Fr. *absent*), occur with great *regularity* in these dialects, inasmuch as they characterize to a greater or less extent all natural speech, they do not appear to me typical dialect features in the sense the table contemplates such traits. Likewise French *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*, when not before front vowels, correspond with dialect *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*. When, however, in French either *t*, *d*, *k* or *g* is followed by a front vowel the dialect equivalents may vary from the French. Thus dialect ky=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [kyèl=Fr. *quel*; kyŏr=Fr. *cœur*] (Canadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [tšèl=Fr. *quel*; tšŏr=Fr. *cœur*] (Acadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel final, or before a consonant: [ptši=Fr. *petit*; kriàtšür=Fr. *créature*] (Canadian regions). But dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final or before a consonant: [pti=Fr. *petit*; kriàtür=Fr. *créature*] (Acadian regions). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [mètšé=Fr. *métier*; mötšé=Fr. *moitié*] (Acadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: [džèp=Fr. *guèpe*; džöl=Fr. *gueule*] (Acadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or before a consonant: [módži=Fr. *maudit*; džir=Fr. *dire*; džü bwâ=Fr. *du bois*] (Canadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [džö=Fr. *dieu*; džâb=Fr. *diable*] (Acadian regions). But dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before a consonant (Acadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *y* (consonant), Waterville: [mudžé=

149 See the observations on å, *a* and *â* at the beginning of Professor Sheldon's paper. I have not been able personally to observe a dialect a=Fr. *a* in *pas*, occurring regularly.

150 Cf. Professor Chamberlain's article on the dialect of Granby in MOD. LANG. NOTES, for Jan., 1893, and the observations on *i*, p. 33 of his notes.

151 See Professor Squair's List (3) and cf. Professor Chamberlain's notes to Granby dialect, Nos. 1, 3 and 5, p. 31.

152 Rare, as far as I have observed.

153 Can be heard in terminations corresponding to Fr. *-tion* in and around Bonaventure, Baie des Chaleurs.

154 Noted in a number of words at Bonaventure; pã=Fr. *pain*; mã=Fr. *main*, etc. For similar and identical treatment of the Fr. nasals Corblet's Picard dictionary furnishes illustrations.

Fr. *mouiller*]. Dialect k=Fr. *t* before front vowels: [mwàkyé=Fr. *moitié;* kyæ̃=Fr. *tiens*; küyó=Fr. *tuyau*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The cases of dialect k= Fr. *g*, I should hardly call a regular dialect feature, being confined, as far as I have observed, to a few words: fàtik=Fr. *fatigue;* fàtikā=Fr. *fatiguant*, etc. Dialect y=Fr. *g* before front vowels: [yĭd=Fr. *guide*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The pronunciation *gyĭd* heard in some regions is a trait, dialect gy=Fr. *g*, that is parallel to dialect ky=Fr. *k*. Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: [yõ=Fr. *dieu*] (Canadian and also Acadian regions). Dialect d=Fr. *g*+ front vowel: [dišè and dišæ=Fr. *guichet*]; however, Fr. g+front vowel is far more commonly represented by dialect y as in yĭd=Fr. *guide*.

2. The dialect liquids l, m, n, ñ, and r may be said as a rule to correspond to the Fr. *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng* and *r*. The multitude of changes that occur in words containing these letters in these dialects, as indeed in language in general, are due to causes in sound change that are easily and well understood, to which reference has been made in a general way just before attempting this tabulation. Merely to instance one of these most frequent and regular traits occurring, too, so often in popular spoken French, take the many words in these dialects where dialect ñ represents Fr. *ni* plus a vowel: pañé=Fr. *panier*.[155]

3. The dialect continuants f, v, s, z, š, ž, h, and y are also, as a rule, identical in these dialects with the respective Fr. equivalents, save as has already been shown in some localities, dialect h or ḥ[156] takes the place of Fr. ž and y=*dž* in Waterville.

To the above phonological features may be added what few characteristics have been noted in regard to the morphology of the Dominion French so far examined: (1). ȍn= Fr. *une*, [Acadian regions]. (2). an=Fr. *une*, [Canadian regions]. æ̃=Fr. *un*, and so generally in use throughout Canada, as well as in popular French, has already been noted among the phonetical features. (3). ȍ=Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous*.[127] [More especially Canadian than Acadian.] (4). ž(ə) with verb forms in ȍ(z)=Fr. *ons*, corresponding to Fr. forms with *nous* [Acadian regions.][125] (5). Dialects having a preterite tense and those lacking the same.[157] (6). Dialects which form the preterite of all the verbs on the analogy of Fr. verbs whose infinitives end in *-ir*,[158]—thus, ž èmi=Fr. *j'aimai;* ž kuri=Fr. *je courus*, etc. (7). àwèr= Fr. *avoir* is the auxiliary used with all neuter as well as transitive verbs.[159]

Now, of these speech characteristics noted in various regions, it can hardly fail to be apparent in view of the speech comparisons already made, that the majority of them are identical for Acadian and Canadian French, as well as for popular spoken French in the country round about Paris. While this is true, comparisons show also that there are several features, which are particularly apt to be found in Acadian regions, though they may, too, appear in some Canadian ones and *vice versa*. It seems worth while, therefore, the better to make a comparative statement, as well as for convenience of reference, to present such features in a brief tabular form by themselves:

TABLE NO. 2.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Acadian than in Canadian regions.

(1). Dialect è=Fr. *et*, *aie*, *ais*, *ait*, or any combination which, when final, is pronounced

155 See p. 173, § 407, of Passy's *Étude;* also p. 23 of the second edition of his *Les sons du français*.

156 This trait also occurs in the Lorraine dialects, for there are a number of examples given where there is little chance of mistaking it. Under § vi, p. 25 of Adam's *Patois lorrains* is the heading: *hh, h, ch, j, g* (*doux*). Then follows: "L'un des traits les plus caractéristiques de l'idiome populaire lorrain est que dans un assez grand nombre de mots, les articulations *hh, h, ch, j, g* (doux) correspondent aux articulations françaises et latines: *s, ch, g, j, r, re, rg, rs, s, ss, sc, st, v, x, z*."

157 The preterite is not popular in the French about Paris according to Agnel, *Observations*, pp. 53–78, and Beyer and Passy in *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 155, Anmerkung § 152, declare in large type: "*Dasselbe ist aber in der umgangssprache der Nordfranzosen ausgestorben.*" This accounts for its missing in many localities in the Dominion.

158 Where preterites are found in the French dialects, one of the commonest kinds of formations is the above. This assimilation of the conjugation in *-er* to that in *-ir* was very common in the sixteenth century and evidently has been retained largely in the Dominion. See Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *Seizième Siècle en France*, p. 237; also Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 223 and the note 1.

159 Common to the rural regions about Paris, Agnel, *Observations*, p. 76, v.

as Fr. *è*; that is, Acadian and standard French (unlike Canadian and standard French) agree; mòvè=Fr. *mauvais*.

(2). Dialect u=Fr. *o* before *m*, *n*, or *ng*, not nasal: bun=Fr. *bonne*; pum=Fr. *pomme*; truñõ=Fr. *trognon*.

(3). Dialect wa final=Fr. *oi* final: dwa=Fr. *doigt*; žwa=Fr. *joie*.

(4). Dialect tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels: tšüré=Fr. *curé*; tšör=Fr. *cœur*; tšès=Fr. *caisse*.

(5). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*), followed by another vowel: mötšé=Fr. *moitié*; tšæ̀=Fr. *tiens*.

(6). Dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: pti=Fr. *petit*; kriätür=Fr. *créature*.

(7). Dialect dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: dzèté=Fr. *guetter*.

(8). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: džåb=Fr. *diable*; ákàdžæ̀=Fr. *acadien*.

(9). Dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: midi=Fr. *midi*; dü bwa=Fr. *du bois*.

(10). Dialect ön=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect z(ə)=*je* with forms in õ(z)=Fr. *ons* used corresponding to Fr. *nous* with first person plural of the verb; the forms in õ(z) are also used with the third person plural pronouns:[41] ž sàvyõ for Fr. *nous savions*; i sàvyõ= *ils savaient*.

[Dialect infinitives in *i* final corresponding to Fr. *-ir*: àfèbli=Fr. *affaiblir*].[160]

TABLE No. 3.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Canadian than Acadian regions.

(1). Dialect æ=Fr. *è* final, written in many ways, *-aie*, *-ais*, *ait*, *et*, etc.: ãglæ=Fr. *anglais*; vræ=Fr. *vrai*.

(2). Dialect o=Fr. *o* before *m*, *n*, or *ng*, just as in French: pòm=Fr. *pomme*, etc.

(3). Dialect { wè / wé=Fr. *oi* final: { mwè / mwé=Fr. *moi*; { twè / twé=Fr. *toi*.

160 Noted in note 51, Paper No. I; a common trait of the dialect of Haut-Maine, the forms *couri* and *fini* being given as examples for Fr. *courir* and *finir*. See the *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine* by Roger de Montesson, comments on the verb just preceding the vocabulary. Also common sixteenth century pronunciation, Thurot, Vol. ii, pp. 161-3.

(4). Dialect ky=Fr. *k* (sound) before front vowels: kyõr=Fr. *cœur*.

(5). Dialect k=Fr. *t* before front vowels (usually *i*)+another vowel: mékyé=Fr. *métier*; àmikyé=Fr. *amitié*.

(6). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: ètšü=Fr. *es-tu*; rótšir=Fr. *rôtir*.

(7). Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: yïd=Fr. *guide*; yirlãd=Fr. *guirlande*; nàviyé=Fr. *naviguer*. Cases of dialect gy=Fr. *g*+front vowel, as in gyïd=Fr. *guide*, can be heard in some localities, though as far as I have been able to observe, not of frequent occurrence; certainly not when compared with the parallel feature above, dialect ky=Fr. *k* before front vowels.

[Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel also occurs in Canadian regions, but with far less frequency than dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: èdüiy=Fr. *aiguille*; diyóm=Fr. *Guillaume*.]

(8). Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: yiàmæ̀=Fr. *diamant*; yåb=Fr. *diable*.

(9). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: midzi=Fr. *midi*; džür=Fr. *dur*.

(10). Dialect an or æn=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect õ=Fr. *on* in the sense of nous for Fr. *nous*.

We can now get from the results presented some idea of what may or may not prove to be Acadian or Canadian features of a French dialect such as that examined by Professor Sheldon. There are dialect specimens which yield more readily to such treatment than the Waterville dialect. For example, I have a newspaper sent me from Weymouth, a seaport on the southwestern part of Nova Scotia on St. Mary's Bay, published Thursday, March 14, 1895, in which appears an article, a column and a quarter in length by "Marichette" and supposed to be written in the popular dialect of Cheticamp,[161] N. S., from which it has been forwarded to the editor of this newspaper "*L'Evangeline*" at Weymouth. Were the letter written phonetically, I think every trait which I have indicated in Table No. 2 as apt to be found in Acadian regions would there be

161 A small hamlet in the southwest corner of Nova Scotia, near the coast about midway between Yarmouth and Digby, in the Acadian region, and several hundred miles distant from the Cheticamp, C. B., where my notes were taken.

found. As it is, so marked are several of the characteristics that the dialect student, familiar with Dominion French, after reading merely a few lines cannot hesitate to characterize this specimen as Acadian rather than Canadian. To prove that it contains every individual trait comprised in the Table of the features that are likely to be met with in Acadian regions is another matter,—a task which defies proof—though if one hears the article read by a native,[162] I believe one cannot be in doubt. As I wish to make no statement which I cannot support with material at hand, I will give an example of each characteristic taken in order from the Acadian French Table (No. 2), and let the reader judge for himself whether the phrase contains the requisite data in order to characterize it as one thing rather than another.

1. . . . le reste de son histoire est trop *mauvais français* pour le comprendre.

2. Jusqu'à vote *houmme* de Halifax chi veux qu'reller avec moi.

3. Mais asteur j'y *crois*.

4. Le bœuf avait la *cheue* droite *chi* pointait vers l'étoile.

5. Chelle *pichier*, sa faisait peur, sé trop long . . . . pour tout vous dire.

6. . . . s'il n'avait pas *sortit* ses griffes de sa poche . . .

7. Quanq'ça été fini le toreau avait la langue sorti deux pieds longs de la *gheulle*.

8. Il est savagne[163] comme un *jâble* s'ti là.

9. Pite Doucet a *vendu* son cheval . . . après *midi* sur le lac . . .

162 I did not hear the article read by a native of Cheticamp, N. S.; I did, however, hear it read by a native of Cheticamp, C. B., whose pronunciation of it agreed with what I anticipated the author meant, though of course as a matter of fact my reader from Cheticamp, C. B., could not *know* the pronunciation of any other dialect than his own, unless he had studied such a dialect. The writer of the letter is by no means consistent in the spelling of the same words; again unless one writes phonetically, it must be evident that it is impossible to be absolutely sure of just what the pronunciation of a given word is. Nevertheless despite these serious obstacles to stating anything at all about the language of the article with scientific accuracy, it must be evident from the italicized words that the signs point in one direction, and though proof is wanting in regard to these signs, yet one conclusion rather than another will almost surely be drawn. For the dialect searcher in the Dominion, as well as for the tourist exploring regions little frequented, Sweetzer's *Maritime Provinces* (on the plan of the Baedeker's *Guides* and revised annually) will prove a most useful companion guide.

163 This interesting trait *â*=*ir*, *âs* I noted in Paper No. I, note 78.

10. J'me souviens qu'il avait *printé* sur l'*Evangeline une*[164] histoire chi faisait trembler.

11. *Je savons* pourquoi. Ces filles là *croyions* qu'elles *pouvions* toute le marier à la fois.

[. . . mais je croyons qu'il a promis que M. Koppe ferait *sorti* de l'argent pour le chais du p'tit R—.]

Comparing, now, with a view to seeing what the proportion of Acadian or Canadian features of the *Specimens* are, we find in the first place what must be obvious even without comparing every individual trait found in one place with every other in another place, that while the majority of phonological features are identical in Acadian, Canadian and popular French, there are nevertheless, besides an endless variety of local differences in all parts of the Dominion, a number of such well-marked speech traits, as to characterize, at least to a certain extent, the phonology of one speech locality when compared with that of another. Such speech characteristics are exhibited in Tables No. 2 and No. 3. Let us take these traits in the order in which they are numbered and compare the corresponding traits which the Waterville dialect may happen to have with the characteristic speech traits in these Tables.

There are no examples among the Waterville *Specimens* of the traits in the Acadian Table no. 2, numbered (2), (3), (6), (9), (10) and (11), nor of the bracketed infinitive in -i=Fr. infinitive in *-ir*. In regard to no. (8), dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel as in džâb=Fr. *diable*, there is no concrete example to establish an identical trait in Waterville. Because Waterville dž=Fr. *d* followed by *i* when final as in módži=Fr. *maudit* (phrase no. 54), or when the *i* is followed by a pronounced consonant as in džirir=Fr. *guérir* (phrase no. 49), is not sufficient to determine absolutely what the dialect pronunciation is when the *i* is followed by another *vowel* as in French *Dieu*;—cf. the Cheticamp pronunciations: mudi=Fr. *maudit*, dir=Fr. *dire* and džö=Fr. *Dieu*.

On the other hand, the Waterville *Specimens* contain examples in this Table of the traits numbered (1), (4), (5) and (7); thus as examples

164 Of course, there is no way of knowing how this *une* is pronounced. Very naturally the native of Cheticamp, C. B., who read me the article pronounced it *ôn* which here has no significance in enabling one to conclude definitely.